HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEK WASHINGTON REPORT

NEWSPAPER

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Is Politics Behind the Boycotts?

There's more than meets the eye in those supermarket boycotts that mysteriously began to mushroom around the country just a few weeks before the elections. While appearing to be a spontaneous revolt against high food prices, there's no question but that government officials and liberal Democrats were furiously fanning the flames of resentment.

The obvious purpose: to lay the blame for the high cost of food squarely on the supermarkets and thereby deflect attention from the fact that the White House and big-spending Democrats are responsible for the inflationary winds sweeping the nation.

Thomas L. Lias, assistant to the executive director of the Republican House Campaign Committee, asserted last week:

"Frankly, I'm suspicious that these boycotts are being organized by the Democrats to make it appear it is the supermarket owners, and not the government, that is responsible. It's an escape for the Democratic incumbent if he can leave the attention focused there. . . ."

An official from the Democratic National Committee conceded the boycotts were politically helpful. "Anything that calls to the voters' attention that there's another side to the high-price story than what they've been getting from the Republicans is probably essentially a good thing."

The Democrats have piously denied starting any boycotts, but the Administration began exploiting the issue right from the start.

Item: Mrs. Esther Peterson, the Eleanor Roosevelt of the "Great Society" and its "specialist" on consumer affairs, rushed out to the first boycott in Denver, Colo., several weeks ago and made it clear she wholly supported the movement. Her friendly bear hug of Mrs. Paul West, leader of the housewives' revolt in Denver, was seen in papers across the country. (As Barry Goldwater, who says the Johnson Administration "organized, fed and spread the food store boycott," recently asked: "Was it mere coincidence that Mrs. Peterson had her picture taken with Mrs. Paul West, leader of the Denver boycott?") Since then Mrs. Peterson has been traveling around the country giving moral support to the boycotters.

Item: Mrs. Peterson's activities didn't end with just moral support. While in Denver she publicly disclosed her request that the Federal Trade Commission study the costs of food sales promotions, including trading stamps and games of chance. The broad implications underlying her request: that food prices were probably soaring because of advertising gimmicks.

Item: Subsequent to Mrs. Peterson's pleadings, the FTC threatened a crackdown on food store promotions, suggesting they might be in violation of the law.

In announcing an "intensive investigation" of merchandising, the FTC called upon retailers "to take immediate action now to discontinue voluntarily any practices that are unfair or deceptive." In addition to its timing, the political nature of this action could be gleaned from a separate statement issued by Commissioner Everette MacIntyre, who, while not opposing the probe, was "disappointed" that the FTC had even failed to furnish the industry with guidelines as to what constituted a violation.

Some newspapers also cast doubt on the sincerity of the FTC's concern by asking why the commission had waited until the boycotts and the pressure from Mrs. Peterson before acting. (The FTC, observers point out, is headed by Paul Rand Dixon, an ultra-liberal Democrat who received some notoriety years ago when he used witch-hunting methods to probe the drug industry. The 6th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals recently invalidated an FTC decision against five drug companies because "the participation of Chairman Dixon in the hearing amounted . . . to a denial of due process." Without actually saying so, the court suggested Dixon was guilty of blatant bias.)

Item: Federal officials were reported to be helping the boycotters in many ways. One woman who stormed the supermarkets in Washington said her husband worked for Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity. The United Planning Organization, the federally supported anti-poverty program in Washington, vigorously aided the boycott leaders. Newspapers reported similar aid from federal employes around the country.

Most liberal Democratic candidates appeared to welcome the boycotts. A spokesman for Rep. Roy McVicker (D.-Colo.) said the boycotts should help his candidate by undercutting the GOP claims that the Democrats were responsible for inflation. Royce Hanson, Democratic candidate in Maryland, called for an investigation of food prices, claiming that "packaging and store mark-up appear to account for most of the increases in prices that are paid by the housewife."

Sen. Gale W. McGee (D.-Wyo.), though not up for re-election, was using the issue in trying to get other Democrats elected.

In spite of energetic Democratic efforts to make the supermarkets, rather than wild government spending, the scapegoat for inflation, much of the press and the public—and even some liberals—have refused to buy the idea.

Those "sinister" promotional schemes that the FTC is now investigating, like

Mrs. Esther Peterson, White House assistant on consumer affairs, greets Mrs. Paul West of Denver (back to camera).

Bonus Bingo and trading stamps, are nothing more than advertising gimmicks to help increase the volume of sales.

Most managers say if these schemes spur as much as a 15 per cent gain in volume they pay for themselves. Nobody is likely to stay with these gimmicks if they don't pay off or if housewives don't demand them. They're no more "sinister" than trying to attract customers with cents-off sales, convenient shopping locations, massive parking lots, air conditioning and piped-in music.

The Washington *Evening Star*, noting that the boycotters in many cases were demanding a 15 per cent across-the-board cut in food prices, remarked that the notion that a boycott can bring this sort of cost cutting is absurd."

U.S. News and World Report, noted the *Star*, "presents a chart based on Department of Agriculture statistics which shows that in 1947 the percentage of after-tax income per person spent for food was 25.7 per cent. In 1958 it was 20.9 per cent. Since that date there has been a gradual decline to 18.2 per cent. The point is that, in the general inflation of our economy, food prices have held relatively stable.

"Grocery chains, after taxes, make an average profit of 1.3 per cent on sales, among the lowest of any major industry. Suppose this profit were wiped out. In that case, a sack of groceries now costing $10 would be reduced only to $9.75, which would save the average person about a dollar a month. Obviously a 15 per cent cut would put the chains out of business."

Among the liberals who agree that the supermarket is the wrong target is Sen. McGovern (D.-S.D.), who has sharply criticized the boycotters. The former Food for Peace administrator said that the boycott "represents discrimination against a single industry." Those who "are striking against food prices," he said, "should remember that included in the food basket are the cost of food packaging, pre-mix preparations and a whole variety of items such as cigarettes, toilet articles, kitchenware and other non-food items."

And the liberal Washington *Post* recently wrote that it "is one of the ironies of these confused times that housewives are protesting against inflation by picketing and boycotting the chain supermarkets. . . . Nowhere is competition more vigorous than in the food industry. . . .

"One of the presuppositions on which the boycotts rest is that the supermarkets as retail distributors are somehow 'profiteering'. . . . Yet investors and government economists agree that there is no fat in the supermarket industry. Profits as a percentage of net work for food chains were 12.5 per cent in 1965, below manufacturing, below retailing as a whole. Food chain profits as a percentage of sales amounted to 1.3 per cent in 1965, down from 1.7 per cent in 1950. Surely these figures reflect ferocious competition, not monopoly power. . . .

"A boycott implies that one group is somehow engaged in a concerted effort to inflict injury upon another. Certainly that is not the case of the chain supermarkets. The increases in their prices reflect the play of market forces in a highly competitive and efficient industry."

Despite the sound arguments against taking out after the food stores, however, the Administration hasn't minded whipping up the revolt—and helping itself politically in the process.

If you have never given a Christmas Gift of Human Events—see page 5 to find out what you've been missing

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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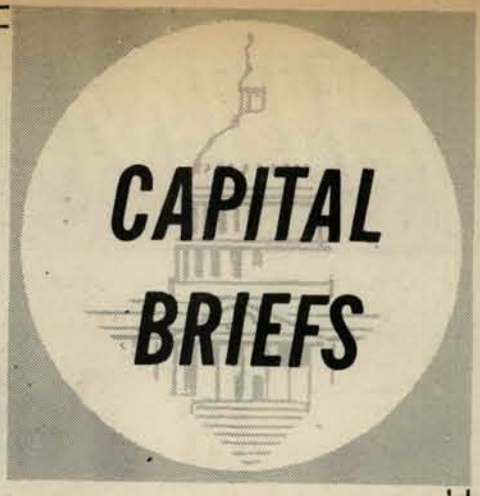

● During his recent swing through Asia, LBJ once again demonstrated his amazing ego: In Seoul, Korea, for example, the President presented U.S. soldiers with a small bust of himself, a larger version of which, he said, will shortly be placed in the U.S. Capitol.

● Rationing ahead? Columnist Ralph de Toledano reported the White House was printing up ration books (**Human Events**, Sept. 14, 1966). A reader from Amarillo, Tex., wrote that she knew someone who took a tour through a federal prison in California recently and found the inmate working on ration books. When asked why, one workman said the order came from "the White House."

● Insiders are saying that LBJ will press for a U.S.-Soviet consular treaty in the first session of the 90th Congress. So far the Senate has refused to approve it, in good part because of constituent objections based on FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover's statement that such an agreement would enormously increase Soviet espionage in the United States.

● Diplomats remain disturbed by the Soviet-American air agreement, signed last week at the State Department, which will permit the Soviets to fly their own planes from Moscow to New York. Aeroflot, the Soviet airline, is already being dubbed the "I Spy" airline by those who fear it will be used to cart espionage agents in and out of the United States. One undisclosed reason the United States has promoted the agreement: to help solve a Russian money problem. The Soviets, it is learned, pleaded that having their own airline would enable them to save valuable American dollars which, no doubt, will now be used to purchase American machinery and other goods useful for making war.

● The brothers Kennedy, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and former Ambassador to Japan Edwin O. Reischauer will be featured speakers in the first group of Roosevelt Day dinners to be held throughout the country in January. All proceeds go to Americans for Democratic Action.

● Stokely Carmichael, firebrand chief of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Commitee, vowed last week to defy the government if drafted. "I'll go to Leavenworth first," he cried. Congressmen on both side of the aisle have urged the Justice Department prosecute Carmichael for urging violation of the Selective Service Statutes. (For more on Carmichael and "Black Power," see page 8.)

● Livingston L. Wingate, a former assistant to Rep. Adam Clayton Powell and now executive director of the scandal-ridden Haryou-Act poverty program, has announced he plans to resign this post to be come associate director of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. The CCAP, privately funded with headquarters in Washington, D.C., was set up last year on a grant from Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers.

● Alexander B. Trowbridge, assistant secretary of commerce, has announced that U.S. trade with Communist countries may reach $350 million, a volume exceeded only once—in—1964—in 17 years. Trowbridge says this total is "significantly higher" if it includes the value of U.S. technical data and know-how exported to Eastern Europe. (For more on this trade, see page 9.)

● Sen. George Aiken (R.-Vt.) predicted last week that the Administration will press for an income tax increase of at least 10 per cent soon after the Election Day. The burden of the higher taxes, he added, will fall on low-income families who have been hardest hit by "Great Society" inflation. Significantly, Administration spokesmen did not deny Aiken's charge, insisting only that no decision has been made on a tax hike.

● Surprise, Surprise Department: The ultra-liberal United Nations Association has come out for Red China's entrance into the world body. The group also endorsed Peking's membership on the powerful Security Council after a "probationary" period. Among the prominent "modern" Republicans; Anna Lord Strauss, former president of the League of Women Voters; Arthur N. Dean, long-time U.S. disarmament adviser and negotiator; Harding S. Bancroft, vice president of the New York **Times**; Prof. A. Doak Barnett of Columbia; Charles W. Yost of the Council of Foreign Relations; and Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

● Just prior to the election Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers distributed a special six-page leaflet in Illinois, entitled: "Paul Douglas Battles for His Political Life." In theory, unions cannot engage in direct political activity.

● **New Left Notes**, the official house organ of the Students for a Democratic Society, has published an article revealing the SDS has Communist members. Writing in SDS' October 7 issue, Art Rosenblum states: ". . . for once J. Edgar Hoover is right. There are some Communists in SDS. Every regular reader of **New Left Notes** must be fully aware of the fact, and he must also know that some of those Communists have openly admitted their membership in both organizations."

● State Department trial balloons suggest the Administration is ready to "normalize" relations with Communist Hungary. Department spokesmen have been quoted as saying that conditions in the Red nation have improved in recent years. Dr. Bela Fabian, leading Hungarian exile, disagrees. He reports that three major concentration camps have been established in Hungary in the past 18 months and that 67,000 "freedom fighters" remain in Siberian prisons for their role in the 1956 revolt.

● Surpeme Court Justice William O. Douglas continues to spout radical doctrines on foreign policy. Douglas last week asserted that the "21st Century belongs to the Chinese Reds," and called for the United States to reach a rapport with Peking. Douglas demanded Red China's admission to the United Nations and demilitarization of Nationalist China under U.N. trusteeship.

● Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.) last week accused the Kennedy-Johnson Administration of nearly doubling federal expenditures in six years. From 1960 to 1966, when congressional Democrats outnumbered Republicans 3 to 2, he said, appropriations increased from $83.8 billion to $145 billion. "Those who are looking for the real cause of inflation need go no further than these startling figures," he continued. "The fanastic disregard on the part of Democratic congressmen of the cause of inflation, government spending, is what is primarily responsible for the hidden national sales tax," Laird charged.

● Rep. Donald Rumsfeld (R.-Ill.) is sharply critical of the recent breakdown in Chicago's mail service (more than nine million pieces of third-class mail went undelivered). "It seems to me that a government which is able to orbit men in outer space ought to be able to deliver the mail," Rumsfeld said.

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LBJ's Operation

Seasoned observers in Washington, highly aware of LBJ, the political animal, can't help wondering if the President isn't using his illness as an excuse for not campaigning and having his popularity tested with the voters.

No one doubts that the President needs to undergo surgery and should probably take a rest after his strenuous Asian tour, but there is some suspicion that he decided to announce the surgical operations now, rather than later, for political purposes. The doctors themselves admit the operations are of a minor nature and that no immediate hospitalization of the President is required. Furthermore, the doctors knew of Johnson's problems long before he made the Asian trip, but did not press him to cancel it. Why, then, couldn't LBJ have campaigned for Democratic candidates in the last week before the election?

JOHNSON

This is not the first time, either, that observers have read political implications into the timing of LBJ hospitalizations. They recall that last year he decided to undergo a gall bladder operation at the very time it looked as if he would lose his campaign to defeat right-to-work in the Senate. Many speculated then that the President, knowing he was going to lose, decided to undergo surgery at that time so he couldn't be blamed for the defeat of the repeal move.

Political observers note, also, that the President, after promises to hit the campaign trail hard this fall, abruptly left the hustings and went to Manila when he found that Democrats didn't want his help because he was hurting them.

U.N. Aide Speaks Out

A former Swedish commander of the United Nations peace-keeping forces has published a sweeping indictment of the world body, claiming it is riddled with spies and corruption.

Maj. Gen. Carl von Horn, who commanded U.N. troops in the Congo, Palestine and Yemen, charges in his sizzling 400-page *Soldiers of Peace,* put out by Norstedt publishers in Stockholm, that U.N. employes were engaged in all sorts of illicit activities, but that no one appeared willing to stop them.

He said the United Nations' administrative section actually blocked his efforts to get rid of civilian employes active in smuggling, the black market, espionage and corruption because it abhorred "having to agree that such things existed."

Gen. von Horn, who accused the administrative department of having "foggy ideas about reality," said the agency was "filled with a passion for formalism and manned by people who became a swarm of angry bees when their hive was threatened by criticism."

He said the Congo affair was a confused and amateurish operation right from the beginning. In Jerusalem, he charged, Israeli girls were freed from military service for the special task of entertaining U.N. guests.

"But the enlistment for Israel's cause which took place between the sheets came second to systematic, organized corruption."

Gen. von Horn said he resigned from his last post as head of the U.N. observer group in Yemen after only two months, because the "whole situation was a farce."

After asking for more men, he was told to "stop complaining and get on with your work." When Secretary General U Thant said his comments were unjustified, von Horn quit.

"This admonitory message from U Thant was the last straw. I tendered my resignation, a resignation which I was asked to explain so that no undersirable publicity would result."

DSG: What's it Hiding?

Following last week's lengthy report on the activities of the Democratic Study Group in *Human Events*, some politicos think a probe into this liberal organization would be in order. The DSG, a secretive group of some 180 House members, has offices in the old House Office building and engages in political activities ranging from research reports to financial support of candidates.

The law requires that any political committee of this sort which "accepts contributions or makes expenditures for the purpose of influencing or attempting to influence the election of candidates" must file expenditures and contributions with the clerk of the House. According to DSG's strong ally, the super-liberal National Committee for an Effective Congress, "more than $70,000 has been raised and distributed to DSG members in close races through the DSG Campaign Committee'. . . ."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

But the files of the clerk of the House for 1964 and 1966 do not reveal any expenditures made by the Democratic group as such. The reliable *Congressional Quarterly* reported that the Democrats for Sound Government in Kensington, Md., did file a report with the clerk in 1964 and said this group was "affiliated with the Democratic Study Group. . . and handles all direct political funds of that organization."

But when *Human Events* politely asked DSG staff director John Morgan if this were true, Morgan paused, then belligerently responded: "How should I know?" Then, without pause or provocation, began to curse crudely into the telephone, claiming we had given his secretary a rough time.

(This was not true. Actually his secretary had given *us* a run-around about DSG and would only deny that there was any connection between the Maryland outfit and the study group.)

This was not the first time, moreover, that Morgan has gone into his clam act. Reporters have consistently tried to get conventional information from DSG, but to no avail.

Why this secrecy? Why shouldn't this group which operates out of congressional offices, be willing to respond to normal queries from reporters? Why should the staff director feel he can't say whether there's any connection between the sound government group in Maryland and the study group?

Assuming the sound government group in Maryland is a DSG affiliate, why do DSG members feel impelled to distribute campaign money through a front organization? Why are many DSG members unwilling to say if they belong to the group and why won't DSG give out names of those who belong?

House liberals often complain because the John Birch Society keeps its membership and meetings secret. The Birch Society, however, at least has the defense that it is a private organization. But DSG operates in secrecy even though it is a taxpayer-supported body composed of House members, running its affairs on government property. The time has come, say seasoned observers of government, to bring the activities of DSG out into the open.

Forced Gov't Service

Administration forces are expected to push for legislation next year which would eventually lead to compulsory governmental service for everyone out of high school.

LBJ is reportedly an avid supporter of the plan. In a little noticed talk at the University of Kentucky last year, the President promised to "search for new ways" through which "every young man will have the opportunity—and feel the obligation—to give at least a few years of his or her life to service of others in this nation and this world."

On May 18, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, speaking in Ottawa, lofted a trial balloon when he proposed a move toward universal service "by asking every young person in the United States to give one or two years of service to his country—whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps, or in some volunteer developmental work at home or abroad."

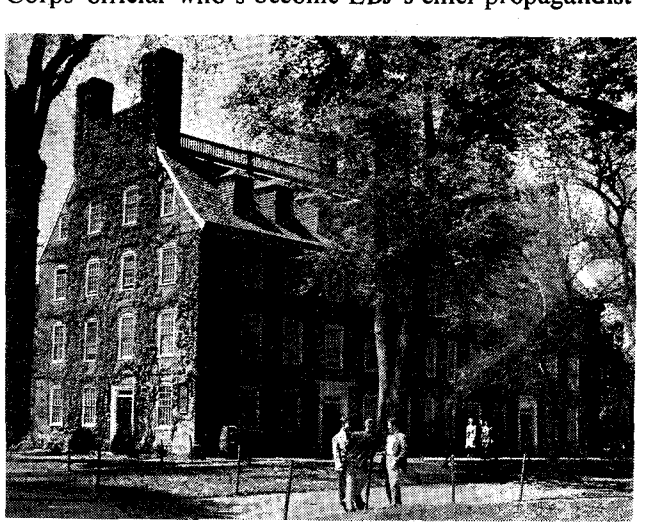
McNAMARA

LBJ is moving right along with this controversial project. He has asked his special National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, headed by Bobby Kennedy's friend, Burke Marshall, to come up with a report in January on proposals which would "encourage" young men to serve in the government in fields other than just the military.

Propagandists for this idea insist the "Great Society" has no intention of making such service mandatory, but the Marshall Commission and its supporters are considering methods which come close to compelling young men and women to work for their government.

Here are just a few proposals which are being considered by the commission:

- A GI Bill of Rights which would provide educational assistance to those who join certain governmental programs like the Peace Corps and the "War on Poverty."
- Three-month summer training programs for students which would involve them in aiding the poor and would expose them to government "recruiters."
- A National Volunteer Registry in which every American of high school age would register in a roster to be kept up to date in later life. Registrants would record their interests, skills and available periods for service.
- A local "Selective Service Board" which would provide information on government service opportunities both overseas and abroad.
- A plan by which the colleges would give credit for "volunteer" service. Harris Wofford, a top Peace Corps official who's become LBJ's chief propagandist for the "volunteer" service idea, proposes that the colleges and universities strong-arm the students into joining the government. "In admitting students," says Wofford, "colleges and universities could give weight to such a period of service—or possibly even require it as a condition for admission."



Some form of government service may be a requisite for entrance to college, according to the Marshall Commission.

The Marshall Commission still has to solve this knotty problem: getting Congress to agree that young men serving in government should be made exempt from the draft.

On August 19, LBJ specifically asked the Marshall Commission to consider this question: "Can we—

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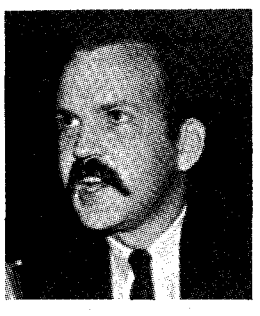
without harming the national security—establish a practical system of nonmilitary alternatives to the draft?" That's the problem the commission is wrestling with now.

• The Administration is working hard for public acceptance of universal government service in a big way. Articles on the idea have been planted in leading periodicals around the country. The U.S. National Student Association, a partly government-financed group that claims to represent some 300 member schools, is this week sponsoring a series of teach-ins, symposiums and student referendums concerning the Selective Service in Washington. The organization will consider plans to permit students to avoid the military by joining some other government service.

Luce Smeared Again

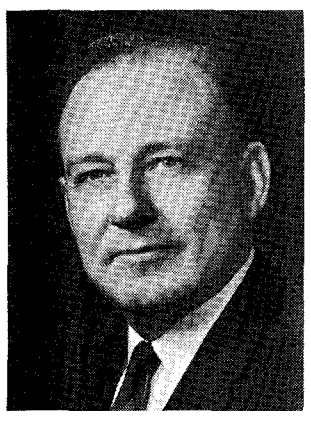
Always anxious to knife the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the *New Republic's* highly inaccurate T.R.B., who somehow has a reputation for being a reporter, has repeated with pleasure the smear initially spread by Rep. Wayne Hays (D.-Ohio) that ex-Communist Phillip Abbott Luce was paid $1,000 for giving testimony to the HCUA.

As pointed out in these pages last week, HCUA, two months before Luce ever testified, had approved a contract which would permit Luce, an ex-member of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Movement, to do a study on ultra-revolutionary groups in the United States. The contract was thought to have been killed, however, when Hays, head of a subcommittee which must give a final okay to such contracts, had refused to act on it after eight weeks. So HCUA went ahead and called Luce as a witness. Six days after Luce's testimony, however, Hays, who had let it be known he planned to "get even" with HCUA for dropping a fellow Ohioan from its staff, himself approved the Luce contract and then yelped that HCUA was paying its witnesses! That story, however, was not mentioned by T.R.B.



LUCE

T.R.B. then made the erroneous statement that Hays "doesn't care one way or another about HUCA," when, actually, he had raised the roof against the committee because of its firing of the



Rep. Joe Waggoner (D.-La.), left, said that Rep. Wayne Hays was unhappy about HCUA dropping an Ohioan from its staff.

Ohioan, a former Democratic congressman. Rep. Joe Waggonner (D.-La.), who is on the contracts subcommittee with Hays, told *Human Events* last week that Hays had been pretty miffed about the matter.

T.R.B. also stated that HCUA was coming under attack from "conservative congressman, Wayne Hays. . . ." Again, TRB was wrong. Hays has been handed only a 14 per cent conservative rating by the Americans for Constitutional Action and a 92 per cent liberal rating by the AFL-CIO's COPE.

South Africa Reacts

South Africa has reacted sharply to the United Nations General Assembly vote to take over South West Africa, a territory South Africa has ruled since 1920 under a League of Nations mandate. The action was taken in spite of a recent World Court decision to dismiss a complaint that would have given the United Nations supervisory authority over South West Africa. Here's the way *Die Burger,* an Afrikaans daily, feels about America's support of the U.N. vote.

"With his statement on South West Africa, U.S. Ambassador Goldberg committed his country to a course which points directly to a clash with South Africa.

"Mr. Goldberg candidly drew the conclusion that South Africa had forfeited its right to administer South West Africa, and proposed a United Nations commission to plan a take-over of the territory with the object of self-determination.

"Although it is a less extreme position than that assumed by the Afro-Asian majority, it has the same ultimate aim. It is supposed to be a 'practical' alternative to proposals which the United States, together with quite a number of other states, regard as totally impracticable.

"Nothing the American policy makers could say would convince the South Africans that this harsh attitude of the United States is primarily determined by concern over conditions in South West Africa. We see it as a situation into which America allowed herself to be pushed by what she sees as the demands of her political position in the world, linked with her internal racial struggle. She needs all the Afro-Asian support she can get at the United Nations and elsewhere—a support which is already seriously undermined by what the Americans are doing in non-white Viet Nam and by what they neglect in their own country in regard to civil rights for the Negroes. Mr. Goldberg himself stated that America's image in the world was 'too white and too rich' and that a stronger anti-colonial impression could be made by firmer action in the affairs of southern Africa.

"In other words: non-white votes can be recruited for the American differences with Red China and the Soviet Union at the cost of the white governments of our sub-continent."

More News Management

An "atmosphere of censorship and secrecy" pervades official Washington, the nation's newsmen have charged. The scathing indictment of "Great Society" news management was contained in the annual report on freedom of information by Sigma Delta Chi, the professional journalistic society.

Noting LBJ's refusal to hold scheduled press conferences, the report quoted a top Capitol newsman as saying:

"President Johnson seems increasingly reluctant to meet the legitimate needs of the press, and his staff seems increasingly reluctant to press these legitimate needs on him."

The committee said the Pentagon remains a bastion of managed news. Still in force, it said, is a 1962 directive by Assistant Defense Secretary Arthur Sylvester requiring all Pentagon personnel to report their conversations with newsmen. The Defense Department, it added, has "initiated further steps that it seemed certain would mean greater barriers to information on military matters." Defense Secretary McNamara's repeated claims of economy were characterized as fraudulent:

"The use of grossly inflated claims of savings of $14 billion through the Defense Department cost reduction program is an example of the Big Lie technique that the Administration uses in connection with big and complicated programs to mislead the press and the public."

The Paper Jungle

A House subcommittee has released frightening statistics on the "paperwork jungle" to which Americans have been consigned by federal bureaucrats. Exerpts from a report of the House Post Office and Civil Service subcommittee:

• Government paperwork costs $8 billion a year. It takes 15 million copies of 360,000 different forms to operate various federal agencies.

• Nearly a quarter of a million civil servants spent most of their work day tucking government documents into 25 million cubic feet of file space. The Executive offices alone have 2 million file cabinets.

• The government spends $1.5 billion annually writing approximately 1 billion letters. The subcommittee said that upwards of $200 million could be saved by requiring bureaucrats to write shorter, more concise letters.

The computer revolution threatens to intensify the problem, the subcommittee found. One computer can churn out a stack of records 20 feet high each day, and with the government's 2,600 computers working weekly shifts—holidays off—they could account for a stack of records more than 2,000 miles high in a single year.

Price Control Controversy

The Administration has denied the charge by columnist Ralph de Toledano (*Human Events,* September 24, page 1) that it has already drafted wage and price control legislation, but de Toledano still sticks to his story.

In a further development in the last days before the election, says de Toledano, the Office of Emergency Planning injected itself into the congressional campaign for the purpose of aiding Democrats.

"In long telegrams to Democratic candidates having a hard time of it," he writes, "the O.E.P. has angrily denied the columns I have written about White House plans for wage-price controls and rationing.

"The O.E.P. has called my columns 'irresponsible' and charged that they were politically motivated. But his message of denial was sent directly to politicians in the field, rather than through the usual mass communications channels. . .

"The O.E.P.'s flat statement that wage-price controls are not being contemplated—and that no plans for them are being made at the White House—does not square with what Democratic Administration spokesmen were saying before it got too hot in the kitchen. As I have previously reported, the Administration admitted that such plans were in the works, but brushed aside queries by adding that they were only there for use in an emergency. So the O.E.P.'s [telegram] was not exactly accurate."

Irregularities in Postal Service

Rep. H. R. Gross, a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, commented in a recent newsletter on the breakdown in mail service:

"Despite steadily increasing postal rates and all kinds of gimmicks supposedly designed to improve service, there has been a breakdown in mail delivery service across the nation that is beyond belief . . . something is seriously wrong and yet there appears that little is being done to improve service. I have received more complaints of poor service in recent months than at any previous time during my service in Congress. . . . In Chicago, a special investigating team found millions of pieces of undelivered third-class mail. . . . Instead of worrying so much about ZIP code and other gimmicks, what we badly need is a thorough congressional investigation of the breakdown in mail service. . . ."

As most of our subscribers are by now painfully aware, **Human Events** has not escaped this breakdown in postal service. Although the weekly mailing time for this paper has not been changed in years, subscribers in the Washington, D.C., area are now receiving their copies at least one day late—and a three-day wait is becoming common. The same delays of one to three days seem to be the story nationwide. (Even first class mail is not exempt: We have personally been involved in several cases in which letters have taken five to six days just to cross the city of Washington—something less than an improvement on Pony Express.)

Our efforts to secure some remedial action from the Washington Post Office have so far been unsuccessful, but we'll keep trying. We know that many of our readers share our frustration at this supreme example of Big Government at work, and only wish to assure them that any delays are caused not by **Human Events**, but by the U.S. Post Office.

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Welfare Is Fast Becoming Incubator for Small Dictators

'Come and get it' is theme of new handbook telling who's eligible for public assistance

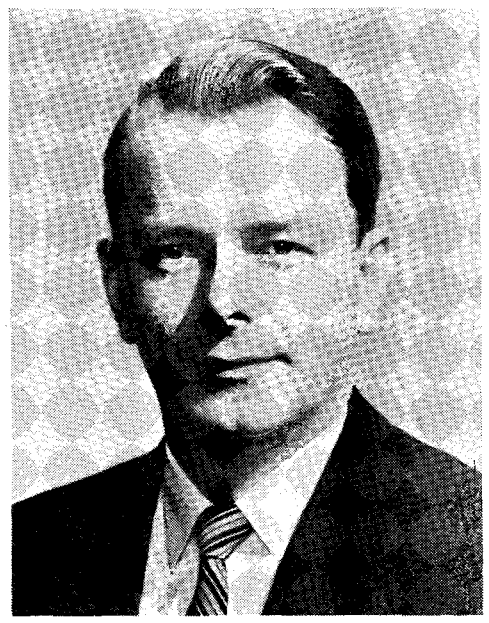
By HOLMES ALEXANDER

The world, I take it, has never produced a benevolent dictator, but the fascination for becoming this impossible thing exerts a yearning in many a humble heart.

Were this not true, we would not have within the "Great Society" so many minions who scheme for power-through-giving. They are the Poverty Warriors, the Lords Bountiful of the realm, the Caesars of public charity, the would-be benevolent bosses of the underprivileged.

By their guidelines you shall know them. There has popped out of the Health, Education and Welfare Department a set of directives (Handbook Transmittal No. 77). It instructs the states on how to determine who among the poor are eligible for public assistance. The gist of it is that the poor themselves do the deciding. How better could a dictator make himself beloved than to issue a decree of "Come and Get It" to the poor?

Let us look closer. Number 77 tells the state agencies of public assistance



Sen. Robert Byrd (D.-W.Va.) says more checks on bureaucracy are necessary.

that the principal source of information about eligibility for relief funds must come from the individual who desires the funds. Only if "reasonably necessary" (vague phrases are so convenient to bureaucrats) shall there be any verification that the receiver of aid is telling the truth.

The state agencies, that is, are discouraged from going to the public records to look for fraud, and there are warnings like this from Section 2230 of Number 77 which combines ordinary protection of a man's castle with extraordinary protection of suspected cheaters:

" . . . States must especially guard against violations of such areas as entering a home by force, or without permission, or under false pretenses, making home visits outside of working hours, and particularly making such visits during sleeping hours, and searching in the home, for example, in rooms, closets, drawers, or papers, to seek clues to possible deception."

Accent on venality! Handicap the police power! The honest pauper *has nothing to hide*, but the artful dodger won't want the agencies checking out "clues to possible deception."

Alas, the record of aid-takers and aid-seekers is not good. Back in 1962 the comptroller general of the United States, who heads the General Accounting Office, investigated some cases of aid to the mothers of dependent children in the District of Columbia.

"The investigation definitely disclosed," he declared, "that reliance cannot be placed on the ADC mothers to reveal the actual conditions or circumstances which have a bearing on the recipients' eligibility for financial assistance."

In fact, as Sen. Robert Byrd (D.-W. Va.) reminded the Senate on the day before adjournment, the GAO probe found many incidents of concealed resources and concealed employment by aid-takers who stated otherwise. Number 77, if literally interpreted, could rob the honest pauper of his rightful share of aid and leave it jingling in the pockets of his crooked neighbor.

"Congress," said Byrd in a safe understatement, "should not permit bureaucrats, who are not selected by or responsible to the people, to exercise a full and unchecked rein upon the disbursement of federal moneys."

But that yen to play benevolent dictator, to buy love out of the public purse, cannot succeed unless it gives special privilege to the underprivileged. Others of us must get out of bed when the FBI comes around after dark. We must open the door, pull out the drawers, be confronted with public records for the Internal Revenue examiner. The rest of us can't get by with giving our unsupported word for eligibility to funds from Social Security and the Veterans' Administration.

No, but empire-building in the bureaucracy of the anti-poverty war requires a different set of rules, not merely to dignify the aid-takers and to curry undeserved gratitude, but to ease the path of empire.

No dictator is benevolent, for power will corrupt him even as he spreads largess. But what an incubator for petty, love-seeking dictators the anti-poverty structure has become!

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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INFLATIONARY WAGES—"An important aspect of the matter of inflationary wages is that government workers at all levels demand increases comparable to those taking place in industry. While industry can, in some degree, offset rising labor costs by more efficient equipment, this is not applicable to any extent in the case of government employes. Since about one person in six works for some unit of government, this means that for a very large segment of our working force there is no mechanical offset to rising wage costs. The burden, therefore, falls heavily on the taxpayer."—By Howard Kershner

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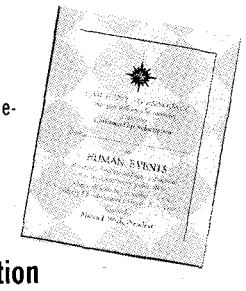

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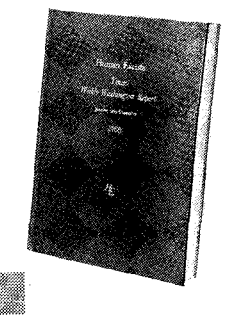

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Farmers Don't Need The Federal 'Helpers'

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

The United States Department of Agriculture's quandary is distressing to the bureaucratic minds which depend upon that department for employment.

There is an increasing demand for food, which American farmers could meet with one hand tied. The government's surplus stocks have largely disappeared, and there is no need for the government to accumulate any more. This would seem to be an appropriate time for the government to get out of agriculture and let farmers mind their own business.

But the myth of farmer incapability is strong doctrine in Washington, where it is believed that without the advice and coercion of committees of federal officeholders the American farmer would destroy himself. So the specialists in "supply management" are wracking their brains to turn out formulae under which farmers will be permitted to produce more food for the market plus "adequate" but "not excessive" reserves.

Settling upon just the right amount, and devising the correct schemes to bring it about, are not easy tasks in these times when an increasing number of farmers prefer just to be let alone.

Farmers today need government planners like they need horse collars. But the planners seem likely to outlast the European corn borer.

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FOX-HUNT THEORY—Brooklyn District Attorney Aaron E. Koota has accused the Supreme Court of favoring the "fox-hunt theory of law enforcement, in which it is believed the fox should be given a sporting chance to escape." The veteran prosecutor said there had been a 40 per cent increase in the number of suspects who refused to make statements to Brooklyn authorities in criminal cases since the high court's controversial ruling on confessions. "These suspects refused to make statements after being warned that they had a right to have a lawyer during their interrogation or to remain silent," Koota said. "Most of these men will walk the streets as free men. These vicious crimes may never be solved."

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C'EST LA GUERRE—"The Nobel Peace Prize won't be awarded this year, the committee in charge has decided. At least this means Ho Chi Minh won't get it."—From the Indianapolis *Star*

Frederick Nolting was U.S. ambassador to South Viet Nam, 1961-63.

South Vietnamese troops prepare for an airborne assault. Former Ambassador Nolting notes the Vietnamese were farther along in representative government under Diem than is generally believed.

Former Ambassador Hits Press Bias on Viet Nam

Now a banking executive, Frederick E. Nolting Jr., 55, was a U.S. diplomat for 17 years, serving as ambassador to South Viet Nam from 1961 to 1963. In the following letter to the New York Times, *October 29, he makes a telling attack on that newspaper's biased coverage of events in Viet Nam. Because misstatements of fact about Viet Nam are prevalent in liberal papers throughout the country, we thought our readers would be interested in the points he raises.*

Twice in recent months you have published news articles from your correspondent in Saigon, Charles Mohr, which tempt me to comment.

In his news article about elections for the Vietnamese Constituent Assembly (European Edition, July 11), Mr. Mohr said: "It was a momentous event in the history of a people who have never had representative, honestly elected self-government." Again in the New York edition of October 2, Mr. Mohr wrote from Saigon: "The members of the Assembly have been chosen in the first really free and fair national election ever held here."

These statements, I think, carry on a tradition of misleading and prejudiced reporting on Viet Nam by certain New York Times correspondents extending over a number of years.

Your correspondent and your editors undoubtedly know of the two national elections in South Viet Nam (1955 and 1961) in which Ngo Dinh Diem was first elected and then re-elected president of the Republic of Viet Nam. You must also be aware that the National Assembly was for eight years the elected legislative body of South Viet Nam, functioning under the Vietnamese constitution, until the overthrow of the Diem government on Nov. 1, 1963.

Elections were held for the National Assembly as late as October 1963—a month before a group of Vietnamese generals, encouraged by the United States government, illegally seized power (and assassinated President Diem). Since then there has been no representative government, no constitution and (until recently) no national elections.

The attempt to define representative government is as old as Plato, but, by any reasonable definition, the Vietnamese people certainly had more of it under President Diem—and a far better opportunity to perfect it — than they have had since his overthrow.

They had a constitution (modeled on that of the United States), they had an elected legislative body, they had a Cabinet of responsible ministers, they had a Supreme Court, they had an elected President.

Even though the minds of the people had been attuned for generations to authoritarian rule, they were beginning to learn the rudiments of self-government, through institutions developed during Diem's eight years as constitutional president.

Why does the *Times* continue to distort the record on Viet Nam? The reason, I think, is clear. The overthrow of Diem—which left a vacuum so great that 300,000 Americans and $2 billion a month seem insufficient to fill it—was due in no small part to the influence of the *Times*. A weak Department of State would not stand up to the pressure.

Incessantly, the *Times* attacked the Diem government, directly in its editorials and inferentially in its news reports. President Kennedy himself became sensitive to the charge of supporting a "Catholic" government in a "Buddhist" country. In the fall of 1963 American support was withdrawn from President Diem, and the elected constitutional government of Viet Nam (which we had been supporting for eight years) was overthrown.

Our country has been paying increasingly in blood and treasure ever since. Neither the Times nor the Administration admits this unpleasant background, but the deaths each week of 100 dutiful American soldiers should keep us from forgetting it.

Now at last Viet Nam is groping its way back to a constitutional government, after three years of floundering under military rule. This is an encouraging development. But let us not depict it as the sudden birth of democracy in a land which had never before seen a "free and fair national election."

Having made that point, I would like to say one more thing. If constitutional civilian rule is ever to be re-established in South Viet Nam, it will take time—time to establish it and time for it to put down roots. During that interval a strong and effective military shield against the Viet Cong and their North Vietnamese reinforcements will be essential.

Now that our country is engaged in this struggle to the extent that we are, it would be a humiliation and, in my view, a national disaster for us to accept any political deal or compromise which would put in question the continued long-term independence and free choice of the South Vietnamese people.

On this point also I find myself in opposition to the prevailing editorial views of the *Times*.

Frederick E. Nolting Jr.

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AL CAPP ON LIBERALS—"I used to be a liberal," cartoonist Al Capp told the International Chiefs of Police convention recently. "But the liberals have changed. A liberal today is someone who feels a Molotov cocktail is something you fellows need at work . . . a man who is liberal with your lives but not your pay." Capp was sharply critical of liberal control of education: "We have taught our kids to demand American comforts, American privileges, to demand everything from America to make their lives easier. But we haven't taught them to love America. We have educational institutions prepared to teach our young every subject under the sun, except the one that gives all the others heart and meaning. The time has come to establish one more chair in every college in America—the chair of basic love of country."

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REDS AND CIVIL RIGHTS — FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover declared recently that "exploitation of radical unrest" remains a major goal of the Communist party. G-man Hoover said that party officials have for the past year ordered members "to participate in the civil rights movement and to be alert to the provocation of militant action among Negroes." Most civil rights groups, he added, have taken steps to foil Communist infiltration.

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Youth's Opinions Change Quickly

Is Bobby Kennedy Writing His Name on Water?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Bobby Kennedy has been concentrating on the young, the students in their late high school and early college years, as he has been going around the country to speak for Democratic candidates.

According to reports from the Pacific Northwest, the news of his speeches has been getting bigger front-page billing than Lyndon Johnson's triumphal tour of Asia. Everywhere the young respond to his mop of hair, his engagingly self-deprecating humor, and his references to other Kennedys. He is a phenomenon, like Bob Dylan or a bevy of Beatles. But the kids don't vote this year, and maybe not in 1968, and before Bobby Kennedy could himself be running for President, which would be in 1972, their adolescent impulses could very well be giving way to mature second thoughts.

True enough, a Kennedy who has not yet reached middle age could easily keep the resiliency needed to shift with the years. Whatever the issues of 1972, Bobby Kennedy could remain in a position to exploit them. Even so, he may be writing his name on water in his campaign to tie the young to him in perpetuity.

The reason for saying this is that a college generation quickly scatters. One boy marries young and has three children in rapid succession; another is off to Africa; a third becomes a case-hardened marine; a fourth is absorbed into corporation life. Soon, instead of an age group, you have a bunch of different interest groups and the enthusiasms of 18 years of age have passed out of memory.

There is nothing so mercurial as the college population. And it moves all the faster because, in any given year, a full quarter of it is graduated, giving way to an equal number of new recruits who are four years younger. It is swinging all the time, and as it swings, it changes the tune to which it swings.

Thus, only six years ago we were at the tag end of the Silent Generation, when a majority of the kids subscribed to the doctrine of keeping what is now defined as their "cool." Rebels there were in those years, but, like the late James Dean, they were "rebels without a cause." The day of the Silent Generation gave way to a time when, paradoxically, one had to join the campus Right to earn kudos as a campus radical. Organizations such as Young Americans for Freedom and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists were hatched—and the Goldwater push was on. But this push was derailed by the emergence of civil rights as the controlling issue on the campus.

The undergraduates were off to Mississippi to rebuild burned - out Negro churches and to take part in marches. CORE and SNCC (or "Snick") built up big campus affiliates, and the Students for a Democratic Society made more noise than Young Americans for Freedom had ever made.

A year ago the civil rights issue gave way to the Viet Nam war issue. It became the swinging thing to denounce Lyndon Johnson and Secretary of Defense McNamara and to picket the White House with the New Left. But this year the agitation against the Viet Nam war seems to be on the wane. The students may sense that the Viet Cong aren't going to win in Southeast Asia after all, and who can keep up a white heat against a war that in all probability will soon cease to menace one's life, one's career, and even one's workday interests?

To base one's political career on the supposition that the young will stay put in their interests as they move into their voting years is a most chancy thing. Assuredly Bobby Kennedy, who is not politically naive, knows this. But a politician must keep his name and his mystique alive through years in which he has no real power outside his own territory, and the appeal to the under-voting-age young will serve Bobby Kennedy just as long as it can force Lyndon Johnson to share the front pages with him.

What is really at question is not Bobby Kennedy's behavior, but the attitude of those who, whether they are pro-Kennedy or anti-Kennedy, gape and gawk and say the Kennedys cannot be stopped in their efforts to get back into the White House. Who knows, by 1972 this country may be in the parlous position of present-day England, fighting to counteract the ravages of inflation by turning to measures of austerity. Where will the New Left be then? Echo answers, "Where?" And could a Kennedy ride an austerity program to victory?

(Copyright 1966, King Features Synd.)

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N.Y.) autographs pictures at a rally for Rep. James Corman, a Los Angeles Democrat. Not everyone, apparently, was impressed with Bobby.

Soviet Anti-Aircraft Missile Is Very Effective in Viet Nam

From the Allen-Scott Report

The Air Force is having second thoughts about the effectiveness of the Russian-built SA-2 surface-to-air missile being used against U.S. aircraft flying over North Viet Nam.

Despite the numerous early failures of the Soviet missile, the SA-2 is proving to be the most deadly anti-aircraft weapon ever encountered by U.S. fliers.

One out of every 15 of these missiles is striking its target—the most sophisticated U.S. fighter-bomber ever produced. That's the highest kill-ratio recorded by anti-aircraft gunners in any war in history.

In striking comparison, German gunners had to expend more than 8,000 rounds of 88-mm ammunition to bring down one U.S. aircraft during World War II. In the Korean war, the kill-ratio by the Red Chinese and North Korean gun crews was the same as in the Second World War.

In the Viet Nam conflict an estimated 450 SA-2 missiles have been fired at U.S. aircraft since the Kremlin began installing its complex radar-guided SAM system throughout North Viet Nam in June 1965.

Air Force records, stamped secret on orders of Defense Secretary McNamara, show that these Soviet-built missiles destroyed "more than 30 U.S. aircraft"—or slightly more than one for every 15 missiles launched.

No other anti-aircraft weapon has come close to equaling that kill-ratio.

Even though the SA-2 used by the North Vietnamese is a relatively old Soviet model, originally deployed around Moscow in the late '50s, the missile is considered the most sophisticated ever used against aircraft.

The missile's accuracy is so good above 5,000 feet, despite U.S. jamming efforts, that American pilots are being forced to fly their missions well under this altitude—thus making them easier targets for the conventional anti-aircraft guns that now ring the countryside.

Despite the fine performance of American flyers, North Viet Nam's anti-aircraft defenses are shooting down U.S. aircraft faster than planes are being produced.

This attrition rate of U.S. aircraft, which is expected to grow as the SAM system is improved with SA-3s, could develop into a hot political issue.

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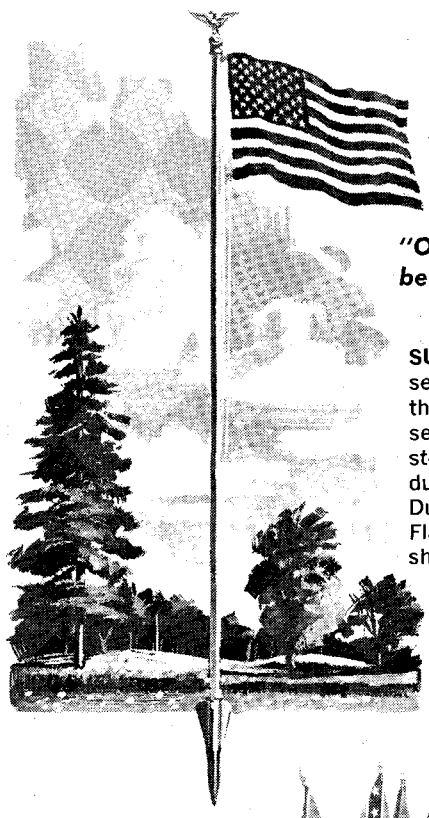

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— Carl Schurz

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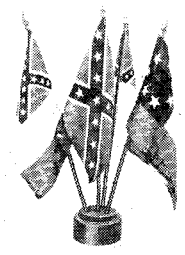

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Votes on Rhodesia and South Africa

A Mob Spirit Invaded the U.N. — And Ambassador Goldberg Marched Along

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

In two recent votes the General Assembly of the United Nations has vividly demonstrated a capacity for imbecility that ultimately may cause the whole United Nations to be yawned out of existence. These were the assembly's vote of 82 to 2 to censure Britain on the Rhodesian question and its vote of 114 to 2 to proclaim an end to South Africa's mandate over South - West Africa.

Each of these dumbshow exercises was ridiculous—even outrageous—but true to the character of the assembly, each was ridiculous in a different way.

Even the Washington *Post*, which can stomach almost any absurdity, revolted at the assembly's vote on Rhodesia. In a stinging editorial, the *Post* lashed at the "mini-nations" of the Afro-Asian bloc who organized this lynching mob. "It is little wonder," said the *Post*, "that confidence in the United Nations is ebbing."

On this particular vote most of the non-Communist, developed nations abstained. While a definitive rollcall is not at hand, it is a fair assumption that the 82 votes included such impotencies as Mali, Gabon, Upper Volta, Burundi, Tanzania, Togo and Chad. These are among the proliferating new "nations" that have gained their nationhood simply by certificate, suitable for framing, in the fashion of honorary deputy sheriffs and admirals of the Arkansas fleet.

In terms of population, wealth, power, trade, cultural influence, they amount to no more than a footnote in the history of our time; and in terms of actual effectiveness, their rebuke to Britain carries no more meaning than the rattle of a witch doctor's bones.

The vote on Rhodesia was a manifestation not merely of the unreality of the General Assembly. It was a manifestation also of the hypocrisy of double-standard politics, at home and abroad. These same characteristics appeared in the October 27 vote on the matter of South-West Africa.

For nearly half a century the Union of South Africa has administered affairs of South-West Africa under a mandate granted by the old League of Nations. This vast and largely primitive land, as large as Spain and Portugal combined, forms a vital link between South Africa and Portuguese Angola. There is grave doubt, as a matter of law, that the United Nations is successor in title to the mandatory commitments of the league. But even if this were so, the terms of the mandate plainly leave the settlement of disputes arising under its provisions to the World Court; and the World Court in July tossed out the suit brought by Ethiopia and Liberia to set the mandate aside.

It is ludicrous that men who talk glibly of "world rule of law" should now gang up to go beyond the law. For the United Nations to seize control of South-West Africa, under its own self-serving proclamation, is an exercise in confiscation, aggression, global grand larceny—call it what you will.

But this is not the end of this dismaying affair. South Africa and Portugal simply cannot permit this territory to be thrown into the chaos that would follow, Congo-like, on the heels of a U.N. seizure. And they will not permit it. South-West Africa can be taken only by force. Where is such a force to come from? Who is to finance it? The Congress of the United States has its addled moments, but if the Congress ever consents to the appropriation of the taxpayers' money to pay for a U.N. invasion of South-West Africa, the Congress will have lost its collective mind—and a hundred members will have lost their seats.

One is reminded in all this of the famous colloquy between the vainglorious Glendower and the young Henry Percy. "I can call spirits from the vasty deep," boasts Blendower. "Why, so can I," says Hotspur, "or so can any man; but will they come when you do call for them?" In the same fashion, the Afro-Asian bloc can call upon South Africa to divest itself of its mandated territory. But will South Africa respond? It is idle to believe it.

In his recently published book, *South-West Africa: The Last Pioneer Country,* Thomas Molnar has provided a brilliant, eyewitness account of the realities of this primitive land. Patiently, he builds the case for common sense. Theories of one man, one vote, of Western government, of modern commerce, simply cannot be imposed without prolonged preparation upon Bushmen, Hottentots and Ovambo tribesmen.

Molnar finds that South Africa, contrary to the hysterical and unfounded charges of her critics, has in fact "promoted to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants." This was the charge of the mandate.

But it is the very essence of the new bigotry that facts, evidence, the realities of tribal life, the wisdom of evolutionary change, must never be considered. A mob spirit has infected the assembly. Off they marched on Thursday, October 27, 114-2, to proclaim an end to South Africa's mandate. And Ambassador Goldberg trotted along.

(Copyright 1966, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

Ambassador Goldberg arrives at the U.S. Mission office opposite the U.N. building.

Two Answers to Carmichael and 'Black Power'

From the Chicago *Tribune*

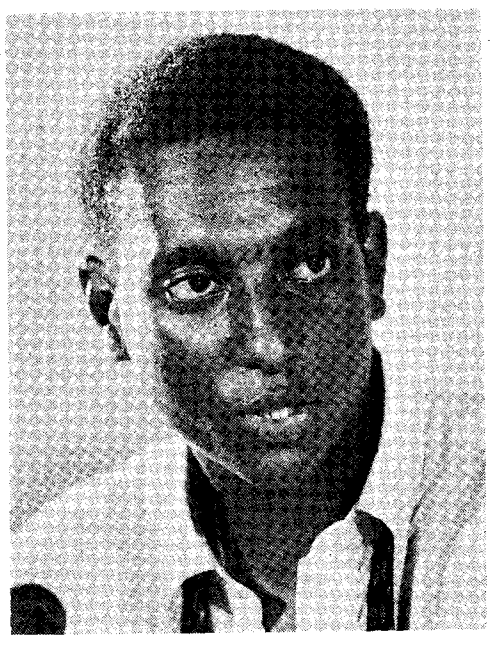
Stokely Carmichael, the rabid evangelist of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, can still make a sale on his "Black Power" war cry before even a presumably enlightened audience. He was greeted with resounding cheers when he spoke to 1,700 students at predominantly Negro Howard University in Washington, D.C.

"White America cannot condemn herself," he told the audience. "So we have done it. We condemn her."

Floyd McKissick, head of the Congress of Racial Equality, got a similar ovation when he said, "There ain't no more civil rights movement. It is dead. It died with the march on Washington. We had a great big picnic and that ended it."

This is the sort of gospel preached on the campus of a university whose president knows full well the objectives of inflammatory "civil rights" spokesmen. More than a year ago Dr. James M. Nabrit Jr. assailed outside agitation promoting unrest in the 9,000-member student body. Citing "growing signs of open defiance of law and order" on the campus, he said:

"We must beware of some people who come to us like the Greeks bearing gifts. . . . They do not believe in civil rights for anyone. . . . They are



Stokely Carmichael's "Black Power" campaign is under fire from responsible civil rights leaders.

children of lawlessness and disciples of destruction. They are people who cloak themselves in the roles of civil-righters and plot and plan in secret to disrupt our fight for justice and full citizenship. They must be unmasked for the frauds they are. They must be fought in every arena, and they must not be permitted to prevail."

Among them, Dr. Nabrit said, were avowed Communists who were not students. Dr. Nabrit said that there was no parallel between the University of California at Berkeley and Howard University, though the Washington institution seemed to have been designated as a target for the same kind of outside agitation that convulsed Berkeley.

"At Howard," he said, "everybody from the president on down has been participating in civil rights."

A further comment on the motives of the "Black Power" advocates has been offered by Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"No matter how endlessly they try to explain it," he said, "the term 'Black Power' means anti-white power. In a racially pluralistic society, the concept, the formation and the exercise of an ethnically tagged power means opposition to other ethnic powers, just as the term 'white supremacy' means subjection of all nonwhite people. In the black-white relationship, it has to mean that every other ethnic power is the rival and antagonist of 'Black Power.' It has to mean 'going it alone.' It has to mean separatism."

Carmichael confirms the analysis when he "condemns" white America.

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The Soviet Fiat Deal: More than Meets the Eye?

By JOHN BOLAND

According to the editors of *Forbes* magazine, officials of both the U.S. State Department and Commerce Department were "shocked" to learn that *Forbes* had details concerning some hush-hush conferences held between Italy's Fiat automobile company chairman, Vittorio Vallenta, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Commerce Secretary John T. Connor. It was those conferences which cleared the way for exporting hitherto forbidden U.S. machine-tool technology to the Iron Curtain countries.

Reporting details in its October 1 issue, *Forbes* says that American manufacturers will supply three-quarters of the machinery Fiat plans to install in an $887-million Soviet automobile plant. The plant will have a capacity production of about 600,000 cars a year.

State and Commerce Department officials, says Forbes, "are frankly scared that, as the real story of the deal emerges, a clamor will arise to prevent U.S. firms from participating."

Which leads one to ask: what *is* the real story behind the deal? And, also, why has the U.S. government—which all along refused to permit export of U.S. machine-tool know-how on the grounds that it would help Iron Curtain countries build up their armed forces—why is it, we repeat, that suddenly and secretly the United States has changed its mind?

Industrial Espionage

Is there more to the Fiat deal than meets the eye? Some think so. John F. Herkenhoff, president and chairman of the Minster Machine Co. in Minster, Ohio, says: "There's just too much intrigue in this deal for us. It's the big boys in this business that have been after [the Soviet] market for years."

Congressional committees have heard volumes of testimony concerning the Communist "trade offensive." Intrigue—or industrial espionage—is the *de rigueur* condition of all Soviet "trade agreements."

In 1942, for example, the United States was preparing to send millions of dollars of lend-lease money and goods to Russia; President Roosevelt had just decreed the Russians were to be supplied with armaments even before U.S. military forces, and still—at the same time—in Washington, D.C., the Soviets, through the newly created Soviet Purchasing Commission (AMTORG) were busy setting up a huge Communist industrial espionage ring.

Werner Keller describes some of the methods of Red industrial espionage in his authoritative *East Minus West=Zero*: "The personnel of this organization [AMTORG] numbered over a thousand. Business connections were established with all major industrial concerns. Every firm in the United States was interested in the colossal orders coming from the Soviets and paid for by their own government.

"Fabulous opportunities for purchases were thus offered to the Soviets. Their agents were everywhere, ferreting out things not included in lend-lease; the Americans' industrial and scientific secrets.

"Even more experts arrived from Moscow; experts in aviation, industry and production, shipbuilding and shipping, artillery and ballistics, naval strategy and, above all, submarine construction. Among the agents posing as unimportant minor officials were famous scientists and high-ranking officers with special scientific qualifications. The suspicions of American industry were not aroused. Some of the Soviet experts were camouflaged as ordinary workmen.

"In late 1943 all the agents of AMTORG were summoned to a secret conference. Behind locked doors, with an armed guard outside, Serov [Mikhail V. Serov, the head of AMTORG] read aloud an order which had just arrived from Moscow. It was from Anastasy Mikoyan, the People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, the authority in charge of the purchasing commission. [The message] instructed all the members to obtain information on industrial development in the United States, and especially on the production and capacity of the armament factories."

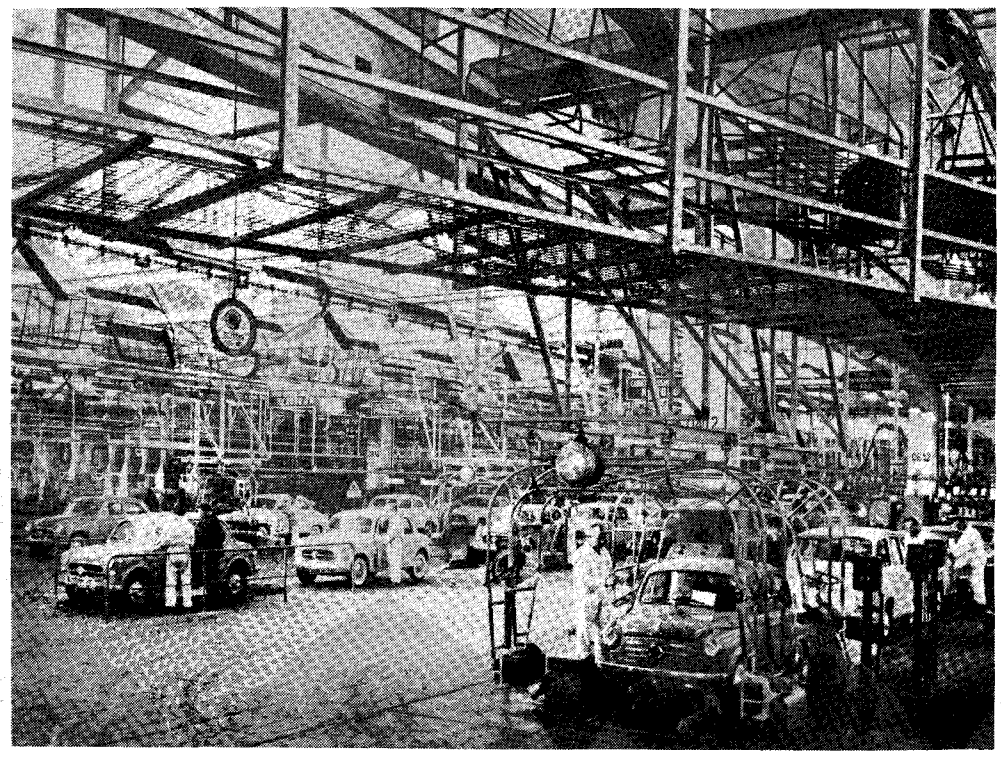
David Dallin, in his book, *Soviet Espionage*, describes the magnitude of Soviet industrial espionage during the '40s: "Among the items obtained were designs of industrial plants, special machines, parts and details; photographs and blueprints of technical processes in aviation, arms, oil, submarine building and many other industries; long-range plans for the development of large industrial units; hundreds of maps of the United States, the individual states; industrial sites, bridges; descriptions of railroads, reports on the building of cities and highways, and so on."

All this, comments Werner Keller, was called "super lend-lease" and "a few years later the items were reproduced exactly by the Soviets and presented to the world as brilliant examples of 'Socialist industrial development.' "

Concerning the current Fiat deal, nobody knows for sure what the Kremlin bosses have up their sleeves.

Official Washington claims, rather weakly, that the Soviet Union has decided all its people should own automobiles. Yet this seems unlikely for two reasons.

First, as *Forbes* notes, there are less miles of paved highway for auto traffic in the Soviet Union than there are miles of paved highway in only two states—California and Illinois.



The Fiat plant in Turin, Italy. Fiat not only manufactures cars, but also builds jet engines, helicopter components and other items of military value.

Second, many observers frankly discount any Russian plans to "automobilize" the USSR by pointing to the latest National Industrial Conference Board study on wage-price comparisons between the United States and the USSR.

The study shows the average American laborer's Russian counterpart must work 1 hour and 48 minutes to buy a dozen eggs; 2 hours and 43 minutes to purchase a pound of butter: this, compared to the American worker's combined 30-minute working time to buy both items.

At Soviet Union wage earner's prices, how could the average Russian family even afford gasoline to run an automobile, let alone purchase one?

A more realistic outlook leads many to determine that the Russians will produce not just automobiles, but military vehicles as well. They may also manufacture autos for export. This seems logical, since the Russian Communists' official international journal, *International Affairs*, claims in its August 1966 issue:

"The projected plant opens up before Fiat and the whole Italian economy . . . the prospect of stable commercial and industrial ties [with the USSR] for at least the next 10 to 15 years, [and] at the same time . . . will play an important political role, because it will enable Fiat to avoid a take-over by the American General Motors. . . ."

Prime Spy Targets

Anti-Communist experts on Soviet tactics, however, fear that any "trade" deal which supplies machinery or technical data to the Reds will only serve as a cover-up for illegal Communist operations. They feel such "trade" deals will present the opportunity for the Soviet Union to set up a new "industrail espionage" complex as it did under the Soviet Purchasing Commission in the '40s.

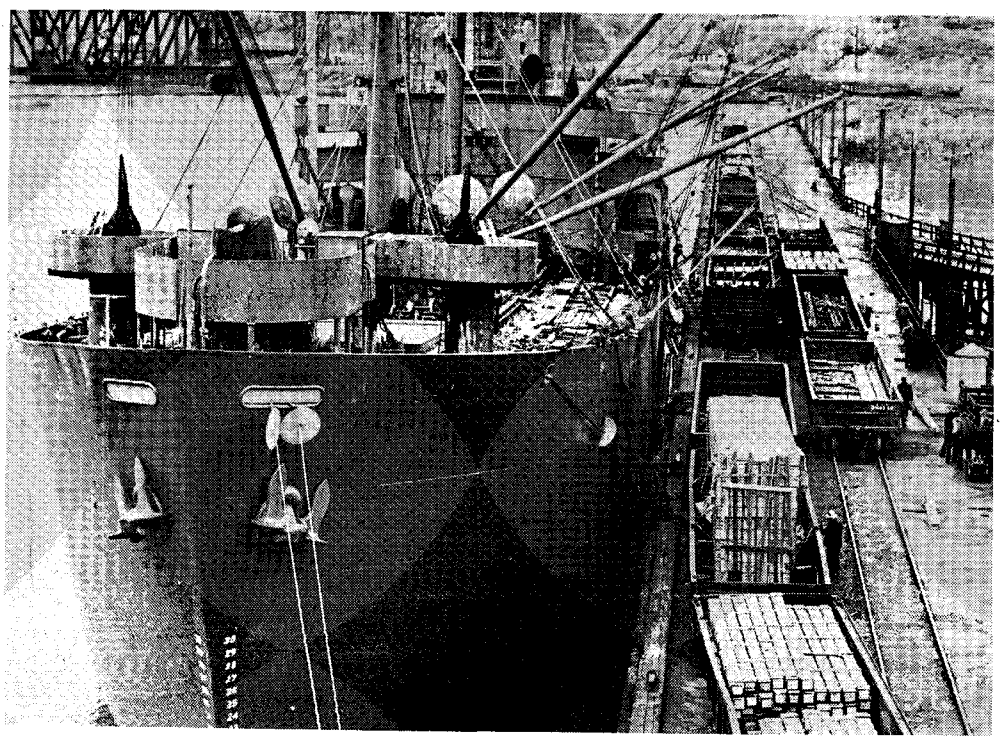
The possibility is not unrealistic. Most of the U.S. companies already signed up to provide technical information and services to the Soviet-Fiat plant would be, under any circumstance, prime targets for Soviet industrial spies. For example:

- *The New Britain Machine Co.:* This company will contribute automatic lathes to the Soviet-Fiat plant. However, the Communists would also be very interested in the company's Koehler Aircraft Products plant in Dayton, Ohio, which manufactures special aircraft fuel oil, air valves and filters.
- *U.S. Industries:* This Delaware corporation will send stamping machine presses to the Soviet-Fiat plant. U.S. Industries also manufactures a militarily important high-energy-rate metal forming machine which might likewise interest Moscow's curiosity. It was developed by Hermes Corp. of Pamona, Calif., and is sold exclusively by U.S. Industries.

Two other U.S. companies mentioned as possible suppliers to the Russians are:

- *Danley Machine Specialties,* a leading die set and die making firm located in Chicago. Industrialists acknowledge the fact that expert die makers are at a premium even in the United States. American firms spend huge sums of

Continued on page 14



Lend-lease supplies for the Soviet Union are loaded aboard a ship at Portland, Ore., in 1945. The Soviets received over $11 billion in lend-lease during the war.

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Shriver's Anti-Poverty Money May Have No Strings

Passed in adjournment rush, $1.6-billion bill says nothing about how money is to be spent

From the Allen-Scott Report

Anti-poverty director Sargent Shriver got a lot less money than he wanted from the recent Congress, but then wholly out of the blue he wound up with an astonishing consolation prize that he hadn't even asked for.

In the final slam-bang hours of the session, when scores of legislators had already departed for home, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the agency headed by Shriver, was more or less perfunctorily voted $1.612 billion for the current fiscal year—in a lump sum.

This is around $150 million less than the minimum budget Shriver had urgently contended was essential. But it was given him without any strings.

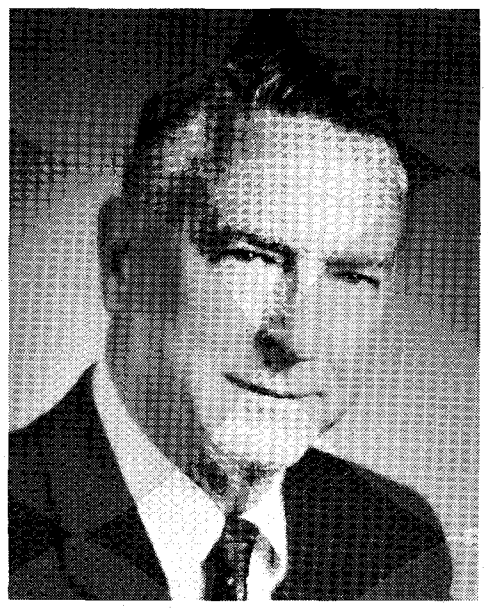
The compromise $1.612-billion anti-poverty appropriation as agreed on by Senate and House conferees is totally devoid of any language on how and on what this huge sum is to be spent. There is not a single word on earmarking, allocating or alloting. As passed by Congress, the disposition of this giant appropriation is left entirely up to Shriver. He has the legal power to apportion the money as he sees fit.

Why this sweeping authority was bestowed on him no one seems to know. In fact, few legislators are even aware it was done. No member of the Senate or House Appropriations Committees has explained it. It's a backstage mystery that still awaits clarification.

The curious affair is all the more extraordinary in view of the long and stormy fight to explicitly detail how the anti-poverty budget was to be administered.

For eight months, from March to October, the Labor Committees of the House and Senate squabbled among themselves and with OEO officials over this thorny problem in drafting the agency's appropriation authorization bill. Only just before Congress quit and a few hours before it voted the $1.612 billion was a compromise reached on allocations.

Under this agreement overwhelmingly approved by the home-rushing Congress, $211 million was earmarked for the trouble-wracked Job Corps, instead of $350 million spent last year; $325 million for the Neighborhood Youth Corps; $352 million for Headstart; $61 million for health centers; $26 million for VISTA; $22 million for legal services for the poor.



Rep. Charles Jonas (R.-N.C.) called omission to the attention of House conferees, but to no avail.

These and other allotments are carefully spelled out in the eight titles of the authorization measure.

But amazingly there is absolutely no mention of them in the appropriation bill. So far as this big money measure is concerned, Shriver has carte blanche on how the $1.612 billion will be spent.

In all the months the highly controversial anti-poverty legislation was before Congress, not even he attempted to seek such wide-open power. But it was handed him unasked-for on a platter in the hectic closing hours of the session—and no one still knows why.

In the Senate this unexpected bonanza went through unnoticed and without a murmur. Not a voice was raised in surprise or dissent.

In the House there was a brief flurry of challenge—to no avail.

Rep. Charles Jonas (N.C.), ranking Republican member of the Appropriations Committee, vigorously criticized the earmarking omission. He disclosed that the House conferees had bowed to the Senate on this.

In reply, Rep. George Mahon (D.-Tex.), committee chairman, produced an explanation as remarkable as the deletion.

Mahon argued that specific allocations were not necessary, as they were detailed in the authorization bill. Those allotments, he maintained, would apply to the appropriation measure.

Mahon did concede this was merely his interpretation and not necessarily a fact. But he felt his view was sound.

This significant discussion stirred little interest in the sparsely attended chamber. Other than Jonas and Mahon, only one other legislator took note of it—Rep. John Dent (D.-Pa.), member of the Labor Committee, and he sided with Mahon's "interpretation."

Other than this brief exchange, the House shrugged the astonishing affair off. The unrestricted $1.612-billion anti-poverty appropriation was whooped through without further hitch.

Following are highlights of this unnoticed revealing incident in the closing hours of the recent session:

Rep. Jonas: "The House conferees agreed with the Senate in eliminating the earmarking of funds. . . . When we put those limitations in the [appropriations] bill, we were undertaking to exercise some degree of responsibility on how this money should be spent. I think it was a serious mistake to eliminate the earmarking, because I think Congress should be the one to say how the anti-poverty money shall be allocated."

Rep. Mahon: "The authorization bill fixes the allocation of funds. So while this is a lump-sum appropriation, the allocation of funds would be controlled by the authorization bill, as I understand it."

Jonas: "The conference report does not make that clear, and the appropriation bill does not make that clear."

Mahon: "But the basic law will control the allocation of the funds, as I understand it. That is my interpretation."

Rep. Dent: "I want to make the record clear if it is not clear; then I am going to demand that we do not vote on such a bill in the future under similar circumstances. I do not believe the conferees' interpretation of OEO lump-sum funding is the proper way to fund this program. I want to make it clear that the allocation of the money as authorized by my subcommittee on appropriations is the way these funds will be expended. That is my understanding of this conference report."

Poverty chieftain Sargent Shriver may be able to spend all the money on his pet project.

Mahon: "That is my understanding. We are centainly not giving the OEO a blank check to expend these funds, except under the guidelines laid down in the authorization legislation."

Jonas: "I fervently hope that interpretation is correct. But I believe it would have been much better to have left the earmarking language in this appropriation bill. Surely it would have done no harm, while it would have made crystal clear that we do not mean to give a blank check to anyone to the extent of $1.612 billion. Explicit earmarking is the only way Congress can retain any control over appropriations. We allocate in other bills, and I see no reason why it isn't being done in this one."

That ended the discussion and the challenge. What happens now remains to be seen. The coming months will tell whether Mahon's "interpretation" carries weight with Shriver—or he disregards it.

Legally, he would have substantial ground to do so. That is clearly indicated by the tenor of Mahon's and Dent's remarks.

* * *

Ralph Nader, crusading author of *Unsafe At Any Speed*, that had much to do with the enactment of auto safety legislation by the recent Congress, has rented a one-room office in the National Press Building. The office is unmarked, with nothing on the door to indicate the occupant. The office is surrounded by press bureaus and the newsmen have ferreted out Nader's identity. Still unknown is what he is doing and why.

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WATCH THAT ZIP CODE—Dismayed at the delay in receipt of his correspondence, a reader last week phoned *Human Events* to tell us he went to the central Post Office building to find out the reason for the delay. He was told by a Post Office official that if the mail did not arrive in time for sorting by the day crew it was sorted by the midnight-to-7 a.m. shift. He learned that this crew was literate only with numbers, and so could sort letters only if a ZIP code were included in the address. If there are no ZIP codes listed, the letters are held for the morning crew, who can read and who sort the letters by address. The subscriber was told this could mean a minimum of two days' delay of his letters.

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Not only does Nationalist China have strong military forces, but it possesses a booming economy as well, illustrated by this assembly line for television sets.

Why Didn't LBJ Visit Taiwan?

From the Arizona *Republic*

The Chinese language newspaper with the largest circulation in Hong Kong recently criticized President Johnson for omitting Nationalist China from his Asian tour. We believe the paper had a point.

Granted, the President already had scheduled sufficient visits (to six nations) in a brief period (17 days) to tax any mortal man. And only a thoughtless person would have argued for Mr. Johnson to squeeze an unnecessary stop into his already jam-packed schedule.

Nevertheless, the trip had been billed as a visit to those Asian governments which support the United States in its struggle against Communist aggression. And Free China is as genuinely anti-Communist as New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and South Korea — all of whom, it should be quickly noted, are deserving of the presidential attention they received.

The Hong Kong newspaper, *Sing Tao Jih Pao,* said there was uneasiness that the omission might have been linked with "a scheme of appeasing and pacifying the Red regime on the mainland." In the narrower sense this was incorrect, for President Johnson — despite strong pressures from the left wing of his own party to do so—has adamantly refused to knuckle under to Peking's threats.

But that uneasiness exists nonetheless, and in the broader sense there is legitimate reason for it. Again and again Administration spokesmen have expressed America's willingness to accept Red China as an independent nation, entitled to full respect and privileges, if only Peking will bank its revolutionary fires. Yet this status cannot be bestowed on Red China without sacrificing the prerogatives and legality of Nationalist China, whose government is the last freely elected government of all China and whose legitimacy the United States now recognizes.

Obviously, then, the question arises—to the overseas Chinese and to others who fear a U.S. retreat from our support of Nationalist China—was LBJ snubbing Formosa as a future diplomatic snub?

The excuse given was that President Johnson visited only countries with direct commitments in Viet Nam. But Malaysia has no troops in Viet Nam, and, as the Hong Kong newspaper noted, the impact of Nationalist China's psychological warfare units and military mission in Viet Nam is no less important than the engineer battalion contributed by the Philippines.

Furthermore, despite the bald assertion by Drew Pearson that Chiang Kai-shek refused to contribute troops to the U.S. effort in Viet Nam, Nationalist China has several times made such an offer, as it offered thousands of its troops to the United States in Korea. But the Johnson Administration has, like the Truman Administration before it, rejected the offer on grounds that to accept would needlessly upset Peking.

Whether the United States should have accepted Nationalist Chinese troops for action in Korea and Viet Nam is arguable. What is less arguable is for President Johnson to have omitted Free China from the itinerary of his Asian visit.

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GOV'T EMPLOYES ON RELIEF— A number of full-time federal employes, it has been revealed, are also on federal relief programs. Many custodial workers at the Defense Supply Agency's clothing facility in Philadelphia who make $1.82 an hour are also receiving surplus food under the federal food stamp program and the community distribution program.

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Swedes Cooling Toward Socialism

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Pushed onto the back pages in many instances, but nonetheless significant, is the fact that voters in Sweden are showing signs of being fed up with the Socialist politicians who have been running their country for so many years.

In the Swedish county and local elections the Socialists slipped by almost 8 per cent, and although they remain the largest single political party they are no longer the over-all majority, now having just a bit more than 4 per cent of the country's voters behind them.

I do not for a moment suggest that this means the good people of Sweden are going to take any sort of a sharp turn away from the vast welfare spending that so heavily taxes the Swedish economy. This would be wishful thinking. I do suggest, however, that more and more people in that hard-working and earnest country are going to be faced with facts they cannot deny in connection with the pie-in-the-sky promises of socialism and of welfarism.

Although the Socialists control it, it would be a bad mistake to refer to Sweden as a Socialist country. Its business and industry, as free-wheeling and as productive as any, are not owned by the government. The point is simply that business, industry and the population generally must shoulder the heavy economic burden of a welfare state that keeps growing in cost.

It is not possible for this process to go on indefinitely without demanding stricter government controls and tighter belts among the productive members of the society.

Much of the Socialist setback in the county and local elections is being blamed on the fact that the Socialists have had to adopt tougher controls and policies in order to fight a wave of inflation.

And the major cause of inflation, as we know from bitter and continuing experience in this country, is the wild spending of government.

Sweden is no exception to the economic facts of life. The more its private funds are taken away from the people who earn them and turned over to so-called public purposes, the more essentially non-productive spending is done by bureaucrats and the more inflationary pressure is placed on the economy.

As the pressure builds, the bureaucrats must apply counter-pressures in the way of controls or abandon some of the spending. The choice for most bureaucrats is never hard to make. They would as soon have a tooth pulled as pull the plug on one of their spending programs.

These latest signs of voter unrest in Sweden are not expected to result in a demand that the country swing sharply toward a fully free society. But I expect more voters in Sweden are going to learn a lesson that I wish more Americans would learn: that the supposedly "free" benefits of a welfare state are not free at all. Somebody pays for them with hard-earned cash. And when that runs out, everybody has to start paying by living under ever-tightening government controls, regimentation and coercion of labor.

There is no such thing as a free lunch. The worst sort of moral and economic indigestion inevitably awaits anyone who thinks otherwise.

(Copyright 1966, Los Angeles *Times*)

□ □ □

IN DEBT, TOO — "The nizam (Hindu for governor) of Hyderabad certainly must sympathize with Uncle Sam. Neither, despite his tremendous wealth, seems able to live within his income. Both are in debt partly because of their handouts. The nizam who lives in India has an annual income of $850,000 but spends more than twice that amount. He has had 750 relatives living off him, eating at his table and receiving monthly pensions. Two of the nizam's relatives have gone on a hunger strike to emphasize their demand for an increase in the minimum handout. Uncle Sam gets similar treatment. His aid recipients abroad threaten to embrace communism and those at home riot and destroy when their demands aren't met for more money. To reduce his deficit spending, the nizam has cut off the food supply to all but 300 of his closest relatives. The others are getting a $26.60-a-month food allowance. The nizam at least is trying to live within his means."—From the Richmond (Ind.) *Palladium-Item*

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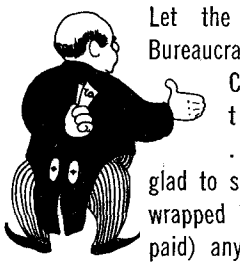

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How ACA Rates the 89th Congress

Below are the voting ratings just issued by the conservative Americans for Constitutional Action. The first column gives the cumulative scores (1955-66 for the Senate and 1957-66 for the House) and the second column the figures for 1966, the second session of the 89th Congress. According to ACA, the higher a member's rating, the greater his devotion to constitutional conservatism.

Ratings for senators are based on 29 rollcall votes, while 27 were used for representatives; pairs and announcements of how absentees would have voted had they been present are not included. These ratings are based on issues ranging from civil rights and minimum wage to rent subsidies and foreign aid. Members are listed alphabetically by party with Democrats in lightface type and Republicans in **boldface.**

The annual ACA ratings are but one phase of this non-partisan political action group's efforts in behalf of the maintenance and strengthening of our constitutional form of government. During 1966 it publicly endorsed deserving conservative candidates for election or re-election to either house of Congress.

To the extent its funds permit, ACA provides political action manuals, research, speech material, personalized news releases, advertising, help in administration and counseling of new candidates. Much of this professional assistance has been given by individuals and firms based in the states or districts of the candidates; ACA field men aided in organizing primary and fall election campaigns, writing speeches, raising funds, and getting out the votes on election days.

Senate

	Cumulative Rating 1955-1966	1966 Rating
ALABAMA		
Hill	25	38
Sparkman	19	35
ALASKA		
Bartlett	11	11
Gruening	18	22
ARIZONA		
Hayden	11	20
Fannin	84	88
ARKANSAS		
Fulbright	23	30
McClellan	68	65
CALIFORNIA		
Kuchel	40	52
Murphy	80	82
COLORADO		
Allott	73	78
Dominick	80	83
CONNECTICUT		
Dodd	19	21
Ribicoff	5	7
DELAWARE		
Boggs	48	63
Williams	92	93
FLORIDA		
Holland	65	72
Smathers	34	41
GEORGIA		
Russell	70	68
Talmadge	56	63
HAWAII		
Inouye	1	0
Fong	43	65
IDAHO		
Church	10	22
Jordan	87	95
ILLINOIS		
Douglas	13	17
Dirksen	73	85
INDIANA		
Bayh	6	11
Hartke	12	30
IOWA		
Hickenl'per	82	97
Miller	76	84
KANSAS		
Carlson	59	80
Pearson	68	78
KENTUCKY		
Cooper	35	70
Morton	63	77
LOUISIANA		
Ellender	53	48
Long	26	8
MAINE		
Muskie	7	4
Smith	41	45
MARYLAND		
Brewster	8	16
Tydings	4	0
MASSACHUSETTS		
Kennedy	2	8
Saltonstall	59	67
MICHIGAN		
Hart	1	0
Griffin	67	67
MINNESOTA		
McCarthy	1	0
Mondale	2	4
MISSISSIPPI		
Eastland	71	71
Stennis	67	69
MISSOURI		
Long	4	4
Symington	13	32
MONTANA		
Mansfield	8	9
Metcalf	5	6
NEBRASKA		
Curtis	94	100
Hruska	94	100
NEVADA		
Bible	32	38
Cannon	25	43
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
McIntyre	24	43
Cotton	84	96
NEW JERSEY		
Williams	4	8
Case	26	19
NEW MEXICO		
Anderson	21	17
Montoya	12	9
NEW YORK		
Kennedy	4	9
Javits	19	15
NORTH CAROLINA		
Ervin	57	68
Jordan	56	70
NORTH DAKOTA		
Burdick	12	23
Young	60	83
OHIO		
Lausche	75	72
Young	13	18
OKLAHOMA		
Harris	21	17
Monroney	14	15
OREGON		
Morse	12	15
Neuberger	2	0
PENNSYLVANIA		
Clark	5	4
Scott	41	35
RHODE ISLAND		
Pastore	10	13
Pell	5	4
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Russell	70	74
Thurmond	92	88
SOUTH DAKOTA		
McGovern	3	4
Mundt	77	86
TENNESSEE		
Bass	3	0
Gore	16	17
TEXAS		
Yarborough	8	7
Tower	97	92
UTAH		
Moss	9	5
Bennett	86	94
VERMONT		
Aiken	40	48
Prouty	53	62
VIRGINIA		
Byrd	80	80
Robertson	87	80
WASHINGTON		
Jackson	8	11
Magnuson	9	10
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd	23	31
Randolph	8	17
WISCONSIN		
Nelson	6	12
Proxmire	23	17
WYOMING		
McGee	3	0
Simpson	95	90

House of Representatives

	Cumulative Rating 1955-1966	1966 Rating
ALABAMA		
Andrews, G.	65	92
Jones	15	23
Selden	59	81
Andrews, Gl.	90	92
Buchanan	100	100
Dickinson	98	100
Edwards	100	100
Martin	100	100
ALASKA		
Rivers	1	0
ARIZONA		
Senner	14	7
Udall	9	8
Rhodes	84	84
ARKANSAS		
Gathings	64	85
Mills	30	50
Trimble	10	21
(vacancy)		
CALIFORNIA		
Brown	3	11
Burton	3	9
Cameron	13	24
Cohelan	4	0
Corman	0	0
Dyal	4	11
Edwards	2	9
Hagen	13	27
Hanna	3	6
Hawkins	1	6
Holifield	6	0
Johnson	6	0
King	1	0
Leggett	5	9
McFall	2	0
Miller	2	0
Moss	1	0
Rees	0	0
Roybal	5	9
Sisk	3	4
Tunney	13	16
Van Deerlin	4	5
Waldie	0	0
Wilson, C.	4	17
Bell	69	43
Clausen	83	71
Clawson	93	86
Gubser	77	60
Hosmer	77	70
Lipscomb	96	92
Mailliard	56	50
Reinecke	77	71
Smith	99	96
Talcott	83	82
Teague	83	78
Utt	97	95
Wilson, B.	85	85
Younger	85	79
COLORADO		
Aspinall	9	12
Evans	13	17
McVicker	20	23
Rogers	7	4
CONNECTICUT		
Daddario	8	4
Giaimo	10	17
Grabowski	5	4
Irwin	11	13
Monagan	16	16
St. Onge	4	8
DELAWARE		
McDowell	7	16
FLORIDA		
Bennett	49	63
Fascell	15	4
Fuqua	64	84
Gibbons	22	17
Haley	91	100
Herlong	69	71
Matthews	44	50
Pepper	1	0
Rogers	61	65
Sikes	49	68
Cramer	88	93
Gurney	97	96
GEORGIA		
Davis	38	57
Flynt	55	69
Hagan	52	79
Landrum	36	43
Mackay	17	23
O'Neal	87	88
Stephens	39	62
Tuten	42	48
Weltner	22	8
Callaway	95	94
HAWAII		
Matsunaga	0	0
Mink	4	9
IDAHO		
White	15	22
Hansen	92	83
ILLINOIS		
Annunzio	2	0
Dawson	1	0
Gray	8	12
Kluczynski	3	0
Murphy	3	7
O'Hara	4	8
Price	1	0
Pucinski	10	37
Ronan	2	0
Rostenkski	2	5
Schisler	20	29
Shipley	19	30
Yates	10	19
Anderson	90	87
Arends	85	81
Collier	93	96
Derwinski	92	85
Erlenborn	82	67
Findley	92	80
McClory	86	80
Michel	87	75
Reid	98	96
Rumsfeld	78	68
Springer	78	76
INDIANA		
Brademas	4	8
Denton	9	13
Hamilton	24	33
Jacobs	6	4
Madden	5	12
Roush	20	35
Adair	88	83
Bray	83	100
Halleck	86	83
Harvey	93	95
Roudebush	93	100
IOWA		
Bandstra	13	16
Culver	14	20
Greigg	12	21
Hansen	6	9
Schmidhser	22	30
Smith	13	20
Gross	96	96
KANSAS		
Dole	93	93
Ellsworth	67	75
Mize	77	83
Shriver	82	81
Skubitz	91	88
KENTUCKY		
Chelf	23	32
Farnsley	0	0
Natcher	24	33
Perkins	9	7
Stubblef'ld	21	31
Watts	25	42
Carter	65	79
LOUISIANA		
Boggs	8	8
Edwards	57	57
Hebert	53	57
Long	82	68
Morrison	9	6
Passman	69	77
Waggonner	88	70
Willis	27	---
MAINE		
Hathaway	4	4
Tupper	28	11
MARYLAND		
Fallon	20	25
Friedel	5	7
Garmatz	9	17
Long	7	12
Machen	15	19
Sickles	1	4
Mathias	44	50
Morton	77	77
MASSACHUSETTS		
Boland	9	0
Burke	4	4
Donohue	8	8
Macdonald	13	10
McCormack	---	---
O'Neill	4	0
Philbin	10	8
Bates	70	65
Conte	48	43
Keith	65	67
Martin	56	50
Morse	45	48
MICHIGAN		
Clevenger	4	4
Conyers	5	14
Diggs	4	14
Dingell	5	8
Farnum	6	8
Ford, W.	0	0
Griffiths	6	4
Mackie	8	4
Nedzi	4	12
O'Hara	3	8
Todd	12	12
Vivian	6	8
Broomfield	66	75
Cederberg	89	88
Chamberlain	78	77
Ford, G.	81	74
Harvey	75	67
Hutchinson	92	88
(vacancy)		
MINNESOTA		
Blatnik	5	6
Fraser	0	0
Karth	4	16
Olson	9	12
Langen	87	89
MacGregor	76	71
Nelsen	84	78
Quie	77	72
MISSISSIPPI		
Abernethy	79	100
Colmer	80	100
Whitten	73	89
Williams	87	100
Walker	100	100
MISSOURI		
Bolling	1	7
Hull	55	64
Hungate	24	33
Ichord	46	70
Jones	64	79
Karsten	2	4
Randall	22	63
Sullivan	3	4
Curtis	88	91
Hall	99	100
MONTANA		
Olsen	6	12
Battin	88	88
NEBRASKA		
Callan	17	19
Cunningham	82	61
Martin	91	91
NEVADA		
Baring	56	91
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Huot	11	19
Cleveland	74	74
NEW JERSEY		
Daniels	6	17
Gallagher	3	4
Helstoski	6	12
Howard	8	12
Joelson	6	11
Krebs	8	13
McGrath	4	4
Minish	3	9
Patten	4	11
Rodino	7	13
Thompson	5	11
Cahill	48	57
Dwyer	52	61
Freling'sen	59	48
Widnall	62	63
NEW MEXICO		
Morris	20	33
Walker	42	56
NEW YORK		
Addabbo	12	22
Bingham	4	4
Carey	7	13
Celler	4	6
Delaney	9	14
Dow	2	4
Dulski	16	28
Farbstein	5	5
Gilbert	4	17
Hanley	9	11
Kelly	7	10
Keogh	3	5
McCarthy	18	20
Multer	4	10
Murphy	3	5
O'Brien	13	10
Ottinger	19	31
Pike	29	33
Powell	10	10
Resnick	0	0
Rooney	5	8
Rosenthal	3	8
Ryan	4	7
Scheuer	6	8
Stratton	21	48
Tenzer	13	21
Wolff	25	37
Conable	65	72
Fino	40	57
Goodell	82	74
Grover	66	68
Halpern	29	33
Horton	47	59
King	87	88
Kupferman	38	38
McEwen	81	75
Pirnie	72	60
Reid	31	35
Robison	79	60
Smith	64	62
Wydler	69	65
NORTH CAROLINA		
Cooley	38	52
Fountain	61	81
Henderson	57	80
Jones	82	82
Kornegay	55	72
Lennon	74	88
Scott	61	83
Taylor	57	64
Whitener	67	81
Broyhill	92	92
Jonas	90	89
NORTH DAKOTA		
Redlin	16	27
Andrews	72	68
OHIO		
Ashley	7	10
Feighan	17	8
Gilligan	7	10
Hays	14	32
Kirwan	7	0
Love	15	23
Moeller	34	55
Secrest	45	67
Sweeney	13	25
Vanik	11	7
Ashbrook	97	96
Ayres	69	68
Betts	96	96
Bolton	84	73
Bow	91	84
Brown	81	81
Clancy	95	93
Devine	96	92
Harsha	84	88
Latta	89	92
McCulloch	89	85
Minshall	90	89
Mosher	70	72
Stanton	78	81
OKLAHOMA		
Albert	3	0
Edmondson	6	16
Jarman	55	67
Johnson	14	26
Steed	26	42
Belcher	91	92
OREGON		
Duncan	7	4
Green	11	15
Ullman	4	8
Wyatt	68	68
PENNSYLVANIA		
Barrett	3	4
Byrne	5	4
Clark	16	19
Craley	10	20
Dent	12	10
Flood	5	4
Green	6	11
Holland	2	0
Moorhead	3	0
Morgan	4	0
Nix	4	0
Rhodes	7	4
Rooney	1	0
Toll	3	—
Vigorito	19	31
Corbett	46	63
Curtin	67	88
Dague	88	88
Fulton	45	59
Johnson	82	77
Kunkel	70	70
McDade	43	52
Saylor	61	67
Schneebeli	74	74
Schweiker	61	59
Watkins	84	96
Whalley	70	87
RHODE ISLAND		
Fogarty	14	15
St Germain	6	8
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Ashmore	78	92
Dorn	78	83
Gettys	63	70
McMillan	65	83
Rivers	49	50
Watson	85	88
SOUTH DAKOTA		
Berry	89	84
Reifel	73	63
TENNESSEE		
Anderson	12	16
Everett	30	57
Evins	23	31
Fulton	5	13
Grider	10	21
Murray	57	60
Brock	90	91
Duncan	96	96
Quillen	95	96
TEXAS		
Beckworth	24	17
Brooks	10	11
Burleson	74	83
Cabell	55	58
Casey	68	52
de la Garza	33	33
Dowdy	81	94
Fisher	78	82
Gonzalez	4	7
Mahon	46	44
Patman	15	21
Pickle	34	52
Poage	43	58
Pool	79	77
Purcell	30	48
Roberts	54	73
Rogers	58	78
Teague	57	80
Thomas	5	5
Thompson	17	32
White	44	44
Wright	22	29
Young	19	12
UTAH		
King	15	20
Burton	79	79
VERMONT		
Stafford	58	59
VIRGINIA		
Abbitt	87	86
Downing	64	70
Hardy	50	67
Jennings	31	58
Marsh	89	85
Satterfield	89	93
Smith	83	85
Tuck	91	96
Broyhill	86	96
Poff	96	100
WASHINGTON		
Adams	15	15
Foley	23	31
Hansen	4	9
Hicks	17	27
Meeds	7	7
May	76	73
Pelly	77	75
WEST VIRGINIA		
Hechler	13	26
Kee	6	13
Slack	13	23
Staggers	13	8
Moore	68	81
WISCONSIN		
Kastenmeier	9	20
Race	23	40
Reuss	1	4
Stalbaum	9	8
Zablocki	6	8
Byrnes	88	88
Davis	87	85
Laird	89	83
O'Konski	49	67
Thompson	87	88
WYOMING		
Roncalio	14	6

□ □ □

Current House line-up is 294 Democrats and 139 Republicans with two vacancies. McCormack, as Speaker, did not vote; Rep. Herman Toll (D.-Pa.) was ill during the year and did not vote. Thus, these two are not rated. The two vacancies are in Michigan and Arkansas.

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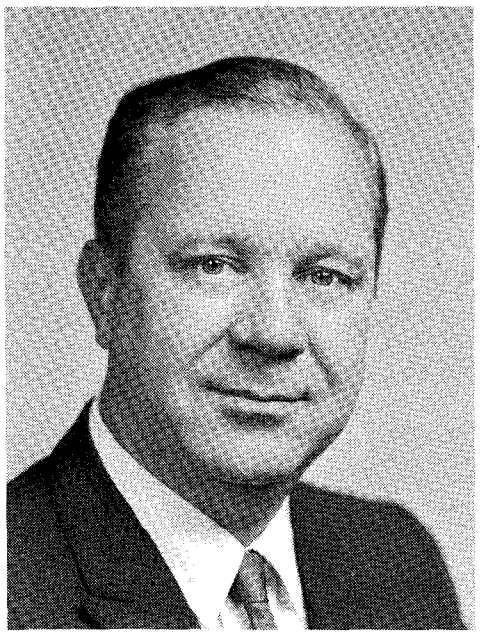

In the rush for adjournment, Congress approved the $1 check-off plan of Sen. Russell Long (D.-La.), left. Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) had proposed instead making political contributions of up to $100 tax deductible.

Campaign Fund-Raising Plan Not Very Well Thought Out

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Members of Congress are politicians, every one of them. But they may yet learn to repent in leisure for the sudden decision to let every taxpayer check off on his income tax a $1 contribution to presidential campaign funds. Of course the American taxpayer might not heed the invitation.

The kitty, which could go as high as $60 million, would be split between Republicans and Democrats, for all practical purposes. The partisan voter may not at all relish giving 50 cents to hear the other side's hot air.

The probabilities are, however, that 1968 will see a handsome sum already collected. Since the $1 is deducted from taxes to be paid, rather than from income before taxes, the buck is one skin off nobody's nose.

Moreover, the nation can expect an intensive check-off campaign mounted by trade union propagandists, since this particular program has been advocated intensely by Walter Reuther for the past five years or more. Like the check-off on union dues, the income tax check-off is designed to raise money with no responsibilities attached.

The giver need take no responsibility himself. He is checking off a dollar he has never seen, and never will see otherwise. He can make no decision as to which candidate his money will support, nor how he wants the money spent.

A third party's candidate is out of the money, since the division formula requires a vote of at least five million cast in the preceding election, a condition which has never been met. The Republican and Democratic National Committees, for their part, have only to raise funds to match their share of the check-off.

Although the check-off is supposed to eliminate dependence upon the traditional "fat-cats," the fallacy is obvious. The check-off contributions merely raise the total pot. Both parties simply start from a bigger base of spending, a base that is separate but equal. The fat-cats, who mostly are clambering into the Democratic party these days, will be called upon for even greater contributions to overcome the opponents' base spending.

The irony is that this plan for socializing campaign fund raising comes just at the time when the Republicans were making a breakthrough in broadening financial support for politics.

In 1964 some 69 per cent of Democratic contributors made gifts of $500 or more; for the Republicans, only 28 per cent of their donors made such big gifts. For the Democrats, 57.4 per cent of the total finances came in lumps of $10,000 or more; for the Republicans, only 40.2 per cent.

Human nature being what it is, the check-off scheme will probably discourage the small contributor who has "already contributed." Yet intensity of political conviction is a healthier expression of democracy than a broad electorate of lukewarm and uninformed voters.

The best way to correct this hastily conceived measure is to return to Sen. John J. Williams' proposal, defeated in the Senate last June.

The Williams measure would allow a campaign deduction of up to $100 from taxable income, not from taxes due. In this fashion, the taxpayer would have an incentive to give, but it would cost him some money out of his own pocket. He would have to consider his responsibilities carefully, choose the deserving candidate, and decide whether to give at a local or national level. No one expects the hasty check-off authorization to be undone, but the Williams proposal could emerge in the new Congress as a responsible checkmate.

□ □ □

"WHEN THE PEOPLE are encouraged to turn to government to settle all of their problems for them, the basis for all revolutions is thereby established. For then the people expect the government to provide them with all of the material things they want. And when these things are not forthcoming, they resort to violence to get them. And why not—since the government itself has told them that these responsibilities belong to government rather than to them? I am convinced that a revolution would not be possible if the only relationship between government and the people was to guarantee them their liberty and security."—Frederic Bastiat, in a speech to the French National Assembly, 1849

□ □ □

"THE BIBLE—something you can't find in the schools, but in motels."—Bob Hope

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IN THE NATION by Arthur Krock (McGraw-Hill, 455 pages, $7.95).

Arthur Krock came to Washington 34 years ago as a correspondent for the New York **Times** and subsequently became its bureau chief. In the process he earned three Pulitzer Prizes and the trust and respect of Presidents, politicians, bureaucrats, men of every station and political coloration. He almost single-handedly built the Washington bureau of the **Times** into the most awesomely powerful sub-empire of the Fourth Estate.

Mr. Krock's retirement this September was greeted not with garlands of gratitude, but with thinly veiled glee by his newspaper in a snide editorial. And his just-published book earned a scant 200 words of attention from the reviewers of the **Times**. Perhaps you get the idea—Mr. Krock's particular disease is that he is a conservative, and until his retirement had been the last oasis of restraint on the **Times**' editorial pages.

In the Nation collects 181 columns written between 1932 and 1966, a lucid and often frightening chronicle of the post-New Deal years. In his final column Krock sadly summarized the political metamorphosis thus: "The general and specific safeguards that were written into the Constitution to preserve the separation of the three powers of government have been steadily eroded by congressional delegations of its legislative power to the already swollen powers of the President. And the Supreme Court has expanded its appointed function to interpret the laws by decisions that in effect have been judge-made legislation and amendments of the Constitution. . . ."

WE PROPOSE: A MODERN CONGRESS (McGraw-Hill, 338 pages, paperback, $1.45).

This book is a collection of 21 articles by Republican congressmen from both wings of the party. Divided into four general areas of study, the papers inquire into problems faced by the legislative branch of government and set out possible remedies.

REBEL SENATOR: STROM THURMOND OF SOUTH CAROLINA by Alberta Lachicotte (Devin-Adair, 288 pages, $4.95).

Any poll of conservatives designed to discover the most admired and respected among them would almost certainly find the senior senator from South Carolina near the top. For Thurmond's life is the stuff of which fascinating biographies are made, and Miss Lachicotte has caught the particular flavor of the man: as governor of the state, judge, reserve major-general and the first write-in candidate ever elected to the U.S. Senate. This is a fitting tribute to the man who laid his political future on the line by defecting to the Grand Old Party in 1964; the man who forcefully articulates his convictions—and votes them—no matter in which direction the political winds might be blowing. The fundamental courage of this uncommon man is a fresh inspiration in these times of political cynicism.

DATELINE: VIETNAM by Jim G. Lucas (Award House, 334 Pages, $4.95).

Jim Lucas, the almost legendary combat correspondent of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, is the legitimate heir to a tradition of great front-line reporting for which Ernie Pyle set the standard. Lucas has been honored by a Pulitzer Prize and lesser awards too numerous to mention, earned for the sort of reporting embodied in this book. Lucas is a reporter, not a philosopher. The political punditry that analyzes our presence in Viet Nam is beyond the scope of this book, which is a collection of his dispatches since 1964 reporting about war, how it is fought and about the men who are its pawns. And it has no equal as a reporter's-eye view of the despair and agony that is omnipresent in a tiny, beleaguered nation.

THE UNMAKING OF A MAYOR by William F. Buckley Jr. (Viking, 341 pages, $6.95).

Poor John Lindsay. The life of a valiant knight in the 20th Century is no bed of roses. Sir John's ambition in the fall of 1965 was to be elected Lord Mayor of New York City, a task complicated by an iconoclastic gadfly named Bill Buckley whose anvil chorus of rhetoric assaulted the tender ears of the New York voter, ears which had rarely before heard even a tinkle of political truth. Why, Mr. Lindsay must have wondered, can't we just play trivia? Why was it not enough to set forth, ADA certification in hand, and woo the Jewish vote by munching blintzes and the labor vote by proudly displaying the union label in his BVDs? Who in God's name ever heard of talking about Issues in the heat of a political campaign? Did you ever hear Robert Wagner talk about one? Nelson Rockefeller? Of course you didn't. Why then should such a successful tradition be breached in **this** election?

Things must have been simpler for Sir John's noble predecessors. Subway fares in Camelot were never known to cause Lancelot any worry, and nobody ever suggested a Peasant's Review Board to King Arthur to keep tabs on the brutality of his errant knights. But **noblesse oblige** is still in vogue today, and Sir John heeded the calling of a Higher Authority—the New York **Times**—to mount his White House (oops—White Horse) and chop off the heads of Gotham's evil dragons. But before Sir John could reach Gracie Mansion he had to survive the "trial by barb" that Mr. Buckley had prepared.

This verbal onslaught severely damaged Sir John's composure and provided great amusement for everyone else. The election, of course, sent the Humble Mr. Beame back to his bookkeeping and the not-so-humble Mr. Buckley back to **National Review** and his column, but the joust was not without its benefits: For one, the 341,000 votes Mr. Buckley received, votes which will forever annoy—and concern—the liberals. For another, this book, a delightfully witty collection of Bill's views on the campaign. Full of the biting aphorisms that have made its author famous, this volume is certain to distress His Honor Mr. Lindsay.

There will be few major elections in 1967, but there will be many major political decisions—both in and out of Congress—decisions that will influence the choice of GOP presidential candidate in '68. You—and your friends—need **Human Events** to keep up with these developments. See page 5 for further details.

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Continued from page 9

Soviet-Fiat Deal—More Than Meets the Eye?

money perfecting die machinery for both domestic and military productions. The Soviet Union, as in the past, is vitally interested in all types of die machinery, especially die machinery developed at no cost to the Soviet Union.

• *Sheffield Corp.*, a company owned by Bendix, through Bendix-Eclipse of Canada, Ltd., is engaged in the major field of air navigation and aircraft electronic systems as well as in the commercial and military applications of digital analog computers. The company is also involved in space research. A representative from Bendix attended the U.S.-Moscow "trade" talks in 1964.

The Soviets will also receive supplies indirectly from TRW, Inc., of Cleveland, Ohio. Under a long-standing relationship, TRW has a license agreement with Fiat enabling the Italian firm to produce automotive components for a royalty. Fiat will continue to use TRW's technology to help manufacture several engine and suspension parts for cars being assembled in the new Russian plant.

The Cleveland-based TRW's importance to our nation's defense is verified in *Moody's Industrial Manual,* June 1966. TRW "manufactures spacecraft, including NASA's Orbiting Geophysical Observatories, Interplanetary Pioneers and Air Force's Nuclear Detection Satellites. Provides support to NASA's Gemini and Apollo programs as well as systems integration for Navy's anti-submarine warfare program and integrated data management systems for Army's advanced helicopter programs. For more than 12 years has performed systems engineering and technical direction for Air Force ballistic missile program, including Minuteman II. Involved in communication satellites, Mars mission studies, advance space probes, underwater defense systems . . . performs research in development of aerodynamics, configurations, propulsion, microelectronics; also low-thrust rocket engines, rendezvous and docking radar systems . . . ."

Just how much access so-called Soviet "industrial workers" and "minor technicians" working with these corporations will have to important U.S. military data poses a real problem. But it is quite likely they will be able to get inside a number of American plants if one can judge from past East-West trade agreements. Certainly they will have access to the Fiat plant.

In May 1960, for example, the Bryant Chucking Grinder Co. had signed an agreement to ship grinding machines to the Soviets. The agreement gave the Soviets the "right to inspect and test goods" and Bryant was "to accord the inspectors all assistance in obtaining information concerning the goods and materials at the factory of the Sellers [i.e., Bryant]."

Although the State and Commerce Departments have pooh-poohed any suggestion that Soviet agents might indulge in industrial espionage at this time, or that the Fiat plant could be militarily important to the Soviets, there are those who still remember the almost unbelievable activities of Klaus Fuchs, the atom bomb spy of the '40s, and warn of any U.S. dealings with the Reds.

The Fiat company itself does not confine its plant activities to the production of Fiat automobiles. also makes jet engines, their components and parts; helicopter components; and also engages in the construction of aircraft electronic and satellite equipment.

The fact that State and Commerce Department officials have expressed "shock" at learning the American press knew about the secret U.S.-Soviet-Fiat deal indicates the need for some congressional probing into our U.S. exports department.

Up until April 1964 the Commerce Department published a daily listing of export license approvals, including those approved for shipment to the Communists. However, on that day the assistant secretary of commerce, Jack N. Behrman, announced there would be no more such listing. The Commerce Department thus shut off the only source of reference which helped Congress attempt to obtain further information on exports to the Iron Curtain countries.

Today not even your congressman knows *what* and *how much* material is being shipped to the Reds. Someone up there wants to keep it that way. But most Americans want to know. And they have a right to know. American boys are being shot and killed in Viet Nam. The bullets and the guns are being supplied by the Soviet Union and the Red satellite countries.

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LOST CONFIDENCE—Columnist James Reston on the credibility gap: "The Johnson Administration may finally get over its agony in Viet Nam—it may even achieve its military objective in the end. But it will probably never regain the confidence it has lost in its judgment and veracity."

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DANGEROUSLY NAIVE—Former Vice President Richard Nixon has termed "dangerously naive" a proposal by United Nations Ambassador Arthur Goldberg for troop withdrawal from Viet Nam. "Nothing could be more disastrous," Nixon said, adding that a similar situation developed in the Korean War and the United States lost thousands of men because the Communists did not keep their end of the agreement concerning withdrawal.

People vs. Property

From the Dallas *Morning News*

The *News* Gallup Poll feature on the nation's political mood noted the civil rights movement's attainment of its primary goal: The majority of the American people, in every region, favors action to guarantee the Negro his rights of equal citizenship.

However, the poll's editors pointed out, Americans "draw a line when they think an infringement of property rights is involved. A common attitude is 'A man's home is his castle—he should have the right to do what he pleases with it."

It is a prevailing cliche among liberals that anyone concerned about his property rights is automatically suspect, an ideological descendant of the trust manipulators and the robber barons.

Several months ago, a prominent Dallas liberal who was asked to give the difference between the two points of view declared, "Well, I'd say that conservatives care about property, while liberals care about people."

This well-worn and rather smug definition infuriates conservatives, but it is interesting, nevertheless. It seems to be drawn from a conviction that people and property are so opposite that to show concern for the one indicates a total lack of concern for the other.

The primary flaw in this basic conviction so dear to liberaldom is that it is not true—it is not true of conservatives, or of Americans generally, or even of liberals themselves.

The attempt to define an issue as a confrontation between human rights and property rights overlooks the obvious fact that property rights are human rights and rather important ones, at that.

Property rights are not the rights of inanimate objects, but of the people who own them. While liberals generally tend to paint the property owner in the outline of the 19th Century monopolist, a grinder of the faces of the poor, the fact is, most Americans own property. The picture, like the definition, is grossly inaccurate.

For most of us, this property is not great in extent. It may be a home or a car or a business. Property may be our savings, or the tools we use to make our living. Such property may not be large in value, but it is important to its owner, primarily because it represents the expenditure of time and effort from a finite life. A home, for instance, represents for most of us a major part of the earnings of our adult life.

Having worked and done without to obtain this property, the average American bitterly resents being deprived of it or its use without compensation. He resents anyone telling him how he must use it or dispose of it.

Anyone who truly believes liberals' protestation that they care only for people and not for property might note a liberal's reaction when his own homestead is condemned for one of the people's freeways. Or see what a liberal will do when his family car is rammed at a stoplight by one of the people who has had too much to drink. The most admirable altruism seems to atrophy under such conditions, and is generally replaced by an extreme concern for outraged property rights.

There are, after all, national governments allegedly based on love of the people and hatred of property. They even call themselves "people's governments." Their rule is hard on property. But it isn't much better for people.

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HELPLESS FEELING— "Scientists say Arctic glaciers are coming at us at the rate of two feet an hour. It's a helpless feeling—like watching the cost-of-living index."—By Jack Wilson in the Washington *Post*

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Emerson Electric Co.

The NLRB's War on Freedom of the Press

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), long noted for its pronounced union bias in settling labor-management organizing disputes, has extended its pro-unionism to the point that it is infringing on the basic constitutional guarantee of freedom of press.

Late last spring the NLRB ruled invalid an election for representation rights in a Kentucky electrical plant, which the unions lost, citing a local newspaper's opposition to unionization as its reason.

The strategy backfired, however, and in the second election, held September 9, the workers at the Emerson Electric Co., in Russellville, Ky., again voted against union representation, this time 370 to 360. And despite the fact that the local newspaper, the *News-Democrat*, continued to run editorials opposing organization of the Emerson employes, the NLRB has accepted the results of the second election and the union organizers have left town.

Despite this final acceptance of the workers' will, the NLRB's action in tossing out the first election last April represents an alarming attempt to censor the free press.

Ruling on that election, which the unions lost 453-385, the NLRB acknowledged that the employer had committed no infraction, but it contended that the *News-Democrat* "so scared Emerson Electric's employes and created such a general atmosphere of fear and reprisal and loss of economic security in the community that a free and untrammeled choice of a bargain agent was impossible."

The newspaper responded to this charge by saying it was "put out" that its "concept of thorough participation and coverage by a county weekly newspaper in matters which it thinks are of prime importance and interest to county readers gets in the way of what a federal agency thinks is fair treatment." The editorial added that "our job, as we see it, is to live at the center of what is of immediate importance to the people of Logan County."

Although the NLRB's action in this case has far-reaching implications concerning the federal government's ability to control the press, this was not the first time the board has attempted to censor individual views concerning labor-management disputes.

An important earlier instance concerned an organizing dispute at the General Electric Co. in 1960, in which the management sought to communicate with its employes over the union representation issue; the NLRB admitted that GE committed no infraction of the Fair Labor Standards Act, but ruled against GE's total employe communications programs as such.

In another case in early 1963, the NLRB ruled out an election the machinists' union lost 245 to 171 in Orangeburg, S.C., citing statements, not only by management, but "by others in the community." Specifically, the NLRB singled out editorials by the local newspaper which "although not emanating from the employer, exerted a coercive effect upon the employes' free choice and, in conjunction with [the employer's conduct], form a basis for setting aside the election."

The NLRB exonerated the employer from complicity in the actions taken by the newspaper and citizens groups in the community.

Despite this fact, however, the NLRB still maintained that the "speeches, editorials, radio broadcasts, newspaper advertisements, leaflet distribution and visits to the homes of employes" which encouraged a vote against unionization "destroyed the laboratory atmosphere which the board seeks for its elections."

How can the board ever hope for such an idealistic laboratory—without destroying all freedom of action? The unionization of a plant can, especially in a small town, influence the entire economy of the area; thus it becomes an issue which concerns the whole community, not just the plant workers and their employers. As the Russellville *News-Democrat* said in the Emerson case, "Surely the industrial development program here, which affects every pocketbook in Logan County, is a subject of public interest."

Following the decision involving the Orangeburg machine plant, the Richmond (Va.) *News Leader* prophetically noted that "if this decision is allowed to stand [and it was—Ed.], it will mean that any anti-union opinion expressed by a newspaper, radio station, citizens' committee, or private individual, during the course of an NLRB election, may be introduced in evidence to support a defeated union's objections to the outcome of the election."

Such was the case, of course, in the Emerson Electric election in Russellville. And in this case it was the local newspaper exclusively which the NLRB convicted of having "created such a general atmosphere of fear and reprisal and loss of economic security" by editorializing against unionization of Emerson Electric employes.

In its own defense, the *News-Democrat* wrote following the NLRB ruling that " . . . we mentioned the competition of small towns for new industries which have been driven to our region because of heavy demands made at home by labor unions. We said we thought we could lose our advantage in this competition by unionization 'at this time' (a qualification carefully stressed).

"If this frightened employes into the belief that their physical safety and their jobs were at stake, we would think it was the circumstances of Paragould, Ark., and Paris, Tenn., where there were long and costly Emerson strikes, that alarmed them, not that we reported what happened in these towns. [The NLRB had said these reports were intended to intimidate Emerson employes.]

"We thought we said it [similar strikes] could happen. The NLRB seems to think we said it would happen. And our saying so, says NLRB, spoiled the election."

Thus the board wished to give the unions another chance at winning bargaining rights with the Emerson employes, and a local weekly newspaper was picked as the scapegoat in overruling the first election.

The plant manager at Emerson, Ed Johnson, observed this pro-union contortion by the board and observed:

"I guess it comes down to the fact that the NLRB is saying that the newspaper, in some way, exerted more pressure on you [the employes] than those people that were organizing for the union did. Frankly, this is somewhat hard to believe, because we have heard some reports of the kind of pressure the union people used."

But, then, the NLRB has seldom found fault with union activities during a representation dispute.

The NLRB's action in the Emerson Electric case would certainly not be surprising or alarming if it did not involve the question of freedom of the press and the limits to which the federal government can go in censoring the press. After the board had made its decision in this case, the local newspaper-scapegoat editorialized that:

" . . . we are on the fringe of the freedom of the press issue. By setting aside one labor election after another in which a newspaper might have taken a strong position, the NLRB eventually might get one point across: that the newspaper can lose its main objective, which is convincing readers that one side or the other is correct, by publishing in a manner that is offensive to NLRB guidelines for fair union elections.

"Thus the outcome advocated by the paper could be voted in election again and again, but repeated publication of stories and editorials and advertisements that offend the NLRB guidelines could nullify the election again and again."

In effect, the National Labor Relations Board has told a local, independent newspaper with no remote connections with the management involved that it cannot take an editorial position opposing unionization of a local plant and, hence, opposing the predominant bias of the NLRB. (What the board would have said had the newspaper *favored* unionization is an interesting question.)

This, with all due respect to the *News-Democrat*, is not "the fringe of the freedom of the press issue," it is the core of the issue and the government has overstepped its constitutional limitations.

Some Fine Points on the Art of Tea-Drinking

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Oh, dear, if it isn't one thing, it's another. Now a reader administers a verbal spanking on two counts, that I am unfair both to idiomatic English and to Emily Post.

In a recent column, it seems, I said something was "not my dish of tea." The proper expression, writes the complainant, is "cup of tea," and my solecism not only reveals my ineptness in phraseology but suggests my table manners aren't all they should be.

Oh, yeah? Says who?

Now it is not my practice to quibble with honest criticism. Thus, when I am assailed as a paid agent of the munitions industry, the mouthpiece for the current followers of Hitler and Mussolini, and the possessor of a secret bank account in Switzerland by which I avoid the income tax, I plead *nolo contendere.* A fellow has to make a living, doesn't he?

But heretofore even my bitterest opponents have conceded that, if I am a fascist, I am at least a literate one. And I refuse to stand by idly when an obvious drop-out from the Higher Learning tries to ritz me. Indeed, I would challenge the impudent scoundrel to a duel if I hadn't had the forethought to mislay his letter, which he had the effrontery to sign.

I'll have you know, sirrah, that I employed a classical figure of speech when I wrote "dish of tea." The Greeks had a word for that sort of trope—in fact, they had two words for it, metonymy and synechdoche. I'm not sure in which category my metaphor belongs, since the distinction between the two terms is a hairsbreadth, but it's definitely one of them and I defy my opponent to say otherwise.

Metonymy is the name given to the figure in which a word is used for another with which it is associated. Certainly, even my literal-minded heckler doesn't think the phrase, "She keeps a good table," is meant to convey that the lady has a valuable Duncan Phyfe piece locked up in her vault, but rather that she is an excellent hostess who doesn't stint on her food.

Synechdoche—which my drop-out may possibly confuse with that city in New York state—applies when you use a part for the whole or the whole for the part. Surely even a landlubber knows "50 sail" means "50 ships."

I must deduce that my too-eager critic is a bachelor. Otherwise, he would know only too well that when your wife says, "It's your turn to do the dishes," she wants the cups washed, too, and will not stand for any semantic nonsense about it, either.

So much for the unscholarly aspersions on my verbiage. As for the snide reference to my table manners, I must take it that the carper is an effete Englishman who drinks a cup of tea with his pinkie extended. Not that I know any such Englishman, but I have observed the prototype often in American musical comedies, notably accurate in their representation of life.

Nothing perhaps reveals the decline of once-mighty England as that pinkie-pointing gesture. Can you imagine Charles Laughton portraying the lusty Henry VIII drinking tea in such a hoity-toity fashion? If Henry drank tea at all—which is doubtful—it's a cinch he poured it into his saucer and blew on it to cool it off. Indeed, that custom still persists among the rugged and uncorrupted peasantry of Europe.

That defense is no rationalization on my part, since it doesn't apply to me. I come from a tribe of tea-drinkers who took their tea in a glass, which required considerable stoicism if the tea was hot—and it was. You might burn your fingers, but you never cried out.

As a man of the world, I have since learned to do in Rome as the Romans, and I never argue when my hostess serves tea in a cup. But some of the flavor is lost when it isn't poured, piping hot, into a thin glass. Ah, that's my real dish of tea!

(Copyright 1966, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

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A PROMINENT CATHOLIC priest has called for the United States to step up air attacks on North Viet Nam to bring that conflict to a close. Rev. Daniel Lyons, S.J., a Jesuit educator and frequent visitor to Viet Nam, said in Washington that the Communists cannot be defeated at the conference table because "honest men are at a distinct disadvantage when they confer with liars."

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Who Should Decide What's in the 'Public Interest'?

By HENRY HAZLITT

Once every few weeks the last couple of years President Johnson, or Gardner Ackley of the Council of Economic Advisers, has suddenly come out with a demand that the steel industry, the copper producers, the molybdenum makers or somebody else "act in the public interest" by rescinding a price increase or refraining from one.

What is puzzling is how Mr. Johnson and Ackley come to know just what price for a particular product is in the public interest.

They seem to assume that the public interest is always served by making no price change whatever from a preceding price, or at least no increase. They talk as if the public interest consisted in each industry keeping its prices precisely as they were, both in absolute terms and in relation to all other prices.

What they overlook is that if such rigidity of prices in relation to each other were maintained, it would destroy the whole function of a free price system. For the vital function of a free market is not to keep prices inflexible regardless of conditions, but precisely to let the price of each commodity respond to the constant changes in supply and demand.

It is only in this way that a free price system assures that tens of thousands of different commodities and services are produced in the proportions that the buying public needs or wants them.

Let us take a closer look. The government's monthly wholesale price index, compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is a weighted average of the prices of more than 2,000 selected items. In September it remained unchanged from the preceding month at 106.8 per cent of the average prices of the years 1957-59. But this is not because no individual price changed in September.

On the contrary, the prices of farm products and processed foods continued to advance while industrial products declined. It may be that there were as many price declines as advances (though unfortunately the government releases do not publish such figures). Again, the government's consumer price index is made up of some 400 selected items. It rose by .3 per cent in September, but not because every item rose by that amount. Retail apparel prices went up an average of 1.4 per cent but retail food prices dropped by .2 per cent.

In brief, individual prices constantly change in relation to each other and so daily give signals to consumers and producers as to what it is advisable to buy more or less of, or to produce more or less of.

It is a blunder of the first magnitude for the government to try to hold prices level while it keeps increasing the quantity of money. For the increase in the money supply cheapens the value of the dollar.

If production is to be maintained, prices must go higher to reflect this. From the end of 1960 to August of this year the combined policies of the federal government and the Federal Reserve have led to an increase of 52 per cent in the supply of money—from $214 billion to $326 billion. This has been overwhelmingly the chief factor pushing up prices.

But even if no such monetary inflation had been taking place, it would still be immensely harmful for the government to try to peg or dictate prices either by law or by voluntary appeal.

Is it really in the public interest, for example, that molybdenum prices should not now be raised? Might not such an increase be the very thing necessary to provide funds and incentives for an increased production of a scarce metal, to supply an increased need for it?

What is most in the public interest is not government-dictated prices, but prices free to respond to the constant changes in supply and demand.

(Copyright 1966, Los Angeles *Times*)

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Fulbright Should Resign

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

Kenneth Crawford, the prestigious columnist of *Newsweek* magazine, who has taken an arms-length position with reference to President Johnson and many of his policies, thinks it is time for Sen. J. William Fulbright of Arkansas to step down as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

As Mr. Crawford phrases it, "The time has come when, in all fairness to himself, to the Senate and to the country, he should surrender it [the chairmanship] to someone who can fill it with the dignity, wisdom and effectiveness that Fulbright himself once brought to this highly important position.

"As the junior senator from Arkansas, or even as chairman of some other standing committee, he could be as waspish as his apparently wounded vanity tells him to be.

"As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, however, he speaks through one of the American establishment's big megaphones and is heard around the world. To foreign auditors who don't fully understand our system, and to a lesser extent to those who do, the result is confusing and in the present war situation can be dangerously misleading."

Sen. Fulbright . . . has missed no opportunity to bring the press and radio and television before his committee, providing a conspicuous stage for anyone and everyone who wished to attack our defense of South Viet Nam, and to urge that the United States "pull out" willy-nilly.

From the way he feels and the way he asks, Sen. Fulbright should give up the —to him—distasteful task of having anything to do with American foreign policy. Already it has been shown that he was one of those lending hope to the Communists in continuing the struggle in South Viet Nam.

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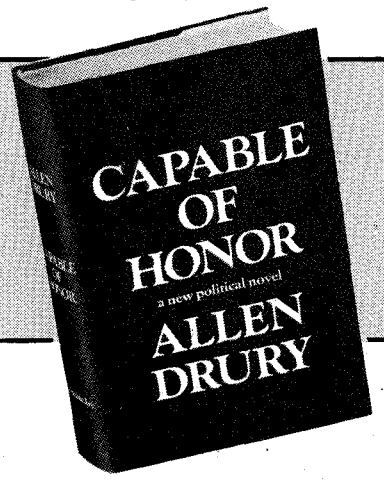

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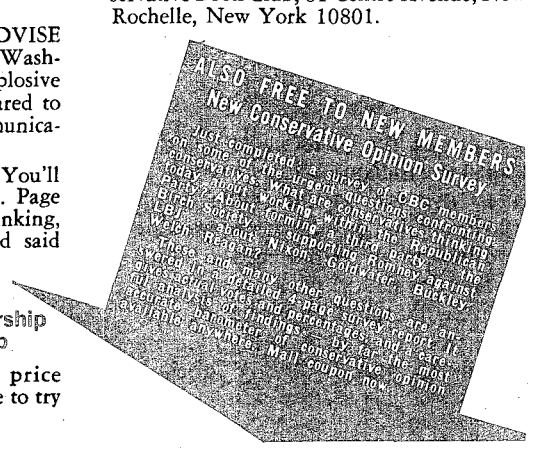

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